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BOUNDARY EVENTS IN SYSTEMS CONSULTATION

by

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York.

1974

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

BOUNDARY EVENTS IN SYSTEMS CONSULTATION

by

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An intensive case study was done of a school system intervention. The intervention, designed to promote educational reform, consisted of a two-week workshop which included lectures, discussions and field visits focussed on drug abuse, educational alternatives and psychosocial problems of adolescence, experiential school simulations and team building exercises. Students, teachers, school administrators, citizens, police and councilmen (total 49) from this suburban New England town attended the workshop held in a neighboring city at a major university.

This study focussed primarily on the group of trainees from the high school (N=27); relevant data about the town and other trainees was provided as context for the events described. Data for this study came from questionnaires, QUESTA II (E.T.S., 1971), Classroom Environment Scales (Trickett and Moos, 1973), interviews and field observations.

The major foci of this study were the structures and processes which emerged during the intervention. Specifically, boundary events were examined before, during and after the two-week workshop which provided a focal point for interpreting the data, for drawing implications for future consultation, and for integrating field work with open systems theory.

Open systems theory as it applies to social systems was demonstrated to be useful for understanding and enhancing social action activities.

Concepts were presented which established this system intervention as an IMPORT-CONVERSION-EXPORT process. This paradigm provided a framework for testing hypothesis about such activities and for analyzing many of the covert dynamics involved.

We found that concepts such as organizational, task and sentient boundaries are an organizing factor in systems analysis. That with boundary events as a central focus, other concepts such as authority, role, group dynamics (e.g., basic assumptions), culture, etcetera, become more articulate, operational and integrated into systems analysis.

Our analysis supported the work of other systems researchers, especially that from the Tavistock framework of systems thinking. Specifically, we concluded that in complex, intersystem interventions, it is imperative that leadership manage task, sentient and organizational boundaries. Further, that such leadership be identified early and that the other key issues be made overt rather than being allowed to remain covert. That is, to avoid colluding with covert client system dynamics, consultants need to make overt these events and need to be clear about their own roles in their own system and in the intersystem interaction.

Another observation was that the introduction of novel stimuli into a social system (e.g., a group designated as "change agents") raises the internal boundaries within that system, especially in coercive systems such as the school in this study. We suggest that a team consisting of clients and consultants who cross organizational boundaries reduces this resistance. Further, that someone with no formal role in either system, enhances the intersystem interaction; the primary responsibility

of such a person is to manage the boundary region between the interacting systems.

We cite many events which mediated outcomes. One such subtle resistance was the illusion that the school was responsive to current change needs (latent openness), when in a larger perspective, nothing is allowed to change. Another was the recapitulation of initial difficulties later in the intervention. That is, a parallel exists between early boundary events and those later in the intervention. This underscores the importance of clarity of contract setting, selection procedures and structural diagnosis.

In summary, this study provided an analysis of systems consultation, an operationalizing of concepts from open systems theory, a discussion of field research, and postulates for future investigation.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Preface

In February, 1972, forty-nine teachers, students, school administrators, policemen and townspeople of Windyville (hereafter: W) attended an out-of-town, two-week training program focusing on drug-abuse information and leadership (group dynamics) training. By May of that semester, these people began working on a youth drop-in center, a hot-line, both manned by teachers and students, rap-groups of students, teachers and parents, and had formed a steering committee composed of teachers, students and administrators. Thus, for the first time in this school system, members of different status groups were working together. All of these developments represent significant effort for this conservative New England town. How this came about is a complex set of events. What this report attempts to describe are the structure and process of the organizational events that mediated these outcomes. Further, in so doing, the data generated may continue our development of general systems theory.

Introduction

In recent years we have seen an increase in organizational consultation; systems analysis is a burgeoning field. As yet, however, little has been soundly established about the process of institutional change. Several theorists (cf. Argyris, 1970; Miller and Rice, 1967; Alderfer,

in press; McGregor, 1960; etc.) have attempted to establish models of intervention and theories of institutional change. There are many reports of interventions which focus on technology. Still others focus primarily on individual change (i.e., personal growth). A third group focuses on bringing about structural changes within the organization of the institution. It is this third perspective that is the least developed and the focus of this study.

Moreover, little systems or organizational thinking has been applied directly to school consultation. Only recently has there been any effort to consider schools as social systems. For example, as late as 1966, Coleman's thorough and probing report on the equality of educational opportunity, while significant in its import about racism in public education, did not consider systemic issues. Sarason (1971) makes a plea for considering the ramifications throughout a school when any part is affected. Nonetheless, he has no model which allows for rigorous systems analysis. Others (Kelly, 1971; Trickett and his colleagues, 1970, 1972, 1973) focus on the "ecological" perspective of school cultures. These researchers also establish the need to consider schools as dynamic systems with inter-related parts rather than earlier approaches which were piecemeal in their approach. These more holistic theorists, however, are still global in their theoretical formulations about schools as organizations.

Some more articulate work derives from what can be called the Tavistock school of systems thinking (cf. Bion, 1961; Rice, 1965; Miller and Rice, op. cit.; and others). Although much of this research is presently under way what little there is has been directed at understanding broader

systemic implications of school events rather than the process and structural changes of intervention and consultation (cf. Singer, Whiton and Fried, 1970; Klein and Gould, in press).

Another school of thought that has been flourishing in the United States can be referred to as the National Training Laboratory (NTL) (cf. Argyris, op. cit., Schein, Bennis, 1965). While this framework allows invaluable service and research on organizational development, its major thrust is personal growth and interpersonal competence. Thus, the abundance of work deriving from these interventionists does not approach the more structural and broader areas of general systems theory analysis.

Early efforts to approach organizations as systems are based on work by Maslow (1970), McGregor (1960), Argyris (op. cit.), Miller and Rice (op. cit.), and Levinson (1959), to name a few. More recently, Aldrich (1971), Newton and Levinson (1973), Buckley (1968), among few others, have begun to consider systems issues.

The proposed study will attempt to apply the Tavistock framework of open systems thinking to understanding the process of school consultation. It will, then, focus on structural phenomena such as boundaries, role relations, groups, authority, leadership, followership, and so on (see next section for fuller definitions of terms), before, during and after the course of an intense two-week consultation. The system under study is a single high school which is one part of a total school system intervention; i.e., the high school is embedded in a larger system being consulted. As such, then, this shall be a case study of the process of consultation. Particular emphasis will be placed on boundary issues encountered in the

process of consultation. That is, a select number of people will be removed from their school and trained for two weeks. They will then re-enter the school as institutional change agents. Boundary events will provide us with a focus to understand the processes involved and the consequences of various structures in attempting to accomplish organizational change.

Theoretical Background

Open systems theory, as it applies to social systems such as the high school in this study, derives from the study of organic systems. Essentially, an open system depends on an exchange of resources with its environment in order to survive. Whereas in a closed system, the second law of thermodynamics would predict a general trend toward entropy (i.e., maximum disorder) and a levelling of differences in energy and structure, this is not so in open systems. In the latter, the exchange of resources constantly revitalizes the system. In fact, all living systems are dependent on such exchange (vonBertalanffy, 1950). Katz and Kahn (1966) cite nine characteristics of open systems: importation of energy; information input, negative feedback, and the coding process; the steady state and dynamic homeostasis; differentiation; and, equifinality. The system, or organization-environment perspective (Aldrich, op. cit.) differs from traditional, dichotomous studies of organizations.

Organizations, a special class of open systems, are essentially described as having three major internal, functional divisions: import conversion, export (Katz and Kahn, op. cit.; Miller and Rice, op. cit.; etc.). That is, organizations require the importation of energy and materials from the environment, some transformation of these materials and energy

into a characteristic product of that system, and then an exporting of that product into the environment with part of the original imported energy going into a re-energizing of the system. This dynamic interchange between the system and its environment mitigates against entropy, and maintains a characteristic internal order. It also involves some feedback mechanism so that the organization is informed about environmental conditions (informational input). Thus, the organization can adjust its internal structures to meet the changing needs of its environment. This process, then, implies a dynamic quality of open systems as opposed to a more static balance in closed systems.

The process of import-conversion-export, and the feedback process, involve the differentiation of substructures within the organization. As Werner (1948) states in his orthogenetic principle: "...with development, there is increasing differentiation and hierarchic integration." Thus, an organization develops internal divisions which have different, but related tasks, and which are separated from each other by boundaries, as is the entire system from its environment. An organizational boundary helps limit and circumscribe the operations of that unit. "A system boundary implies a discontinuity...a differentiation of technology, territory or time, or of some combination of these" (Miller and Rice, p. 7). Frequently, these boundaries are physically established and easily identifiable (physical, time, space). Other, less concrete boundary characteristics include technology, role, interpersonal attitudes, and other psychological phenomena. Thus, boundaries define what is inside versus outside an organization or a part of that organization. They further define an

interface between individuals, groups, subsystems, the organization and its environment. It is the development of such boundaries that allows for the differentiated, articulated comprehension of any organization. Without these, the system is global and undifferentiated; there is no clear understanding of the interdependence of parts and their relation to the whole.

Aldrich (op. cit.) conceptualizes organizations as "boundary-maintaining systems," in order to answer "...what it is about the attributes of formal authority in organization which make it the effective authority and allow it to wield power" (p. 283).

Weber (1947) includes boundaries in his definition of a formal organization:

"A [social] relationship will...be called "closed" against outsiders so far as, according to its subjective meaning and the binding rules of its order, participation of certain persons is excluded, limited or subjected to conditions...A social relationship which is either closed or limits the outsiders by rules, will be called a "corporate group" so far as its order is enforced by the action of specific individuals whose regular function this is, of a chief or "head" and usually also an administrative staff" (Weber, 1947, pp. 139-146).

Rice's (1969) definition of boundaries as placed at the pauses in the flow of events (process) implies a stochastic quality of the boundary control region between activities. This type of organizational boundary is common and easily identifiable in many situations. For example, time boundaries around classes, summer vacations, administrative offices, laboratory space, the roles of teacher vs. administrator, and so on. Less clearly defined boundaries, however, are as frequent and as significant in the functioning of any organization. Often these boundaries exist as

a delimited region along some continuum of activity. It is more difficult, then, to demarcate this type of boundary and thus management of such a region is often vague. These types of boundaries between continuous stages are more likely to be involved with role and interpersonal events rather than spatial, physical or time. For example, the boundary between teacher and student as co-members of a committee, or sentient boundaries in general, or conflicting roles within the same individual (e.g., a department chairman whose roles as teacher, member of a department, and member of the administration are never clearly separate).

Rice (ibid.) highlights the multiple roles we play in life. He reaffirms the notion that articulation and integration of these roles (i.e., boundary maintenance, articulation and coordination) is essential for mental health. "To be continuously confused about the role/person boundaries or completely unable to define or maintain boundaries is to be mentally sick" (p. 577). This is true, both individually and organizationally; i.e., an organization with poorly defined and maintained boundaries may become chaotic, unproductive, unable to perform its primary task, and so on.¹

Since the formation of an organization is predicated on the performance of some task, the placement and nature of the boundaries are modelled to fit the definition and constraints of that task.

"Institutions perform many tasks simultaneously...
Educational institutions train students; purchase and
use teaching equipment, maintain buildings; pay rates

¹See Fordyce, J. and Weil, R. (1971), for one description of "healthy" vs. "unhealthy" organizations.

and taxes; provide opportunities for growth and jobs for teachers; and some award diplomas, degrees, and certificates to mark student proficiency. All institutions provide mechanisms at both conscious and unconscious levels for the satisfaction of human need and for defense against anxiety...The number and distribution of tasks vary between and within institutions and over time. Each whole or part has, at any given time, a primary task--the task it must perform if it is to survive" (Rice, 1965, p. 17).

Task performance becomes increasingly constrained as the primary task is more precisely defined.

Leadership in an organization means enlisting and directing others' support in accomplishing the task. In doing this, leaders have multiple functions:

"...to control transactions between internal and external environments...the management of the internal environment so that transactions can take place across the boundary, and the control of those transactions for the benefit... of what is inside" (ibid., p. 176).

Rice distinguishes between "management" and "leadership" by subsuming the latter under the former and by attributing an essentially rational connotation to management which is not the only component of leadership. A further refinement comes with the addition of the notion of authority. Here, we are concerned with the right to exercise management. That is, authority involves some form of sanction, usually institutionally determined, to perform managerial functions. A leader does not have to have this formal authority:

"At the conscious level, leadership is task-centered and the boundaries controlled are rational; at the unconscious level, the leader expresses feelings and emotions, and the boundaries, which may or may not coincide with task boundaries, are irrational. At the conscious level the leader is appointed or elected; at the unconscious level he takes or is put into a role,

of which he may or may not be aware, that requires him to go into collusion with the unconscious strivings of those inside the boundary" (ibid., pp. 176-177).

Implied throughout this discussion is a distinction between "task-centered" and "person-centered" perspectives. The subdivisions of an organization, when determined by the needs of the import-conversion-export processes involved in task performance, are task-groups; their boundaries are task boundaries. No human organization, however, operates on a purely rational, task-oriented level all the time. Thus, Miller and Rice (op. cit.) distinguish between "formal" and "informal" organizations: "...formal organizations being the co-ordination of activities for task performance; and informal organization the relationships, both internal and external, of those who carry out the activities...When formal and informal systems are in opposition to each other, task performance inevitably suffers" (ibid., p. xii-xiii). The informal system, or "sentient" system (ibid.) also has boundaries. These are the non-rational boundaries mentioned above which are based on the needs and fantasies of the members of a group. Sentience is based on many psychosocial factors. Sentient group and sentient system "refer to that system or group that demands and receives loyalty from its members" (ibid., p. xiiin). These groups or systems are different than task groups in that members identify with sentient groupings and may or may not with task groupings.² Bion (1961) calls "the individual's

²That is, sentient ties are peer or interpersonal bonds (not necessarily related to task roles) which frequently compete with task group bonds. Sentient boundaries are those regions around such groups; these boundaries are typically less articulate than task or organizational boundaries. Basic assumptions are a subset of sentience. These, however, are usually understood as leader (authority) oriented rather than peer oriented.

readiness to enter into combination with the group in making and acting on the basic assumptions...valency" (p. 116). By basic assumptions, Bion means an "as if" term to describe the "tacit assumptions that are prevalent in groups, not to those which are overtly expressed" (Rioch, 1971). That is, Bion posits that in every group at least two groups are present: the basic assumption group as well as the work (task) group. He cites three types of basic assumption life: dependency, fight-flight, and pairing.³ Thus, included in sentient groupings is a valency, a common basic assumption life, and other factors such as sex, race, age, appearance, politics, role, philosophy, and so on. Sentient groupings may coincide with task groupings, but more typically the boundaries of one cut across both internal and external boundaries of the other. Conflict between sentient needs and task performance frequently occur and often result in impaired task performance (cf. Miller and Rice, op. cit.).

Our understanding of the role of management of an enterprise is now enlarged. It now includes four kinds of boundary control:

³For a concise and articulate description of these, see Rioch, 1971. Briefly, basic assumption dependency is when the members of a group behave as if they were assembled to satisfy infantile needs to be taken care of by the perceived dependency leader; as if, they were incapable of managing those needs themselves; and as if they were incapable of performing the task of the group. Similarly, basic assumption fight-flight is an as if stance wherein the members of a group engage in flight activities such as focusing on issues outside the realm of their task, or engage each other in fighting as an avoidance of task performance. Basic assumption pairing is descriptive of a state wherein members form pairs who embody the fantasy that they will somehow, magically form the product of the group. Pairing is also a way of levelling differences between members by lumping people together into categories; e.g., "the women, the blacks, the young."

- (1) regulation of task-system boundaries (i.e., regulation of the enterprise as a whole as an import-conversion-export system, and regulation of constituent systems of activity);
- (2) regulation of sentient-group boundaries (i.e., the boundaries of the groupings to which people belong either directly through their roles in systems of activity, or indirectly through their role-sets);
- (3) regulation of organizational boundaries;
- (4) regulation of the relation between task, sentient, and organizational boundaries (Miller and Rice, p. 41).

The emphasis on regulatory activities (as opposed to maintenance activities and operating activities) requires a further distinction between monitoring and boundary control. Monitoring refers "...to such intra-system regulatory activities which are different in kind from, and not directly related to, the controls activated at the boundaries of the system." Whereas, "...the boundary around a system of activities is not simply a line, but a region with two boundaries, one between the internal activities of the system and the region of regulation, and a second between the region of regulation and the environment. For this form of regulation we use the term boundary control function" (ibid., pp. 8-9).

What is apparent from all of this is that within an organization, there are many parts with relationships (i.e., a regular exchange of matter, energy, or information) among them, between them and the larger system, and finally between the system and its environment. These relationships, however, may differ in their degree of mutuality. The regulatory functions outlined above determine the degree of mutuality. "Mutuality is defined as the condition in which all relevant matter, energy,

and information is both given and received by the parties in a relationship" (Alderfer, op. cit.). These inter-group activities are complex both on the overt as well as the covert level of operating. Issues beyond those discussed above include decisions around representation, competition, collaboration, subjugation and so on. Little is known and even less has been systematically studied about such inter-group behavior.

In his exhaustive review of the literature on the change processes in organizations, Alderfer (op. cit.) sets, among others, the following postulate: "Boundary and relationship conditions tend to be mutually supportive, such that strong permeable boundaries tend to be associated with mutual relationships while rigid closed boundaries or no boundaries tend to be associated with non-mutual relationships" (ibid., p. 10). He then goes on to make a series of propositions which emphasize the congruence between internal and external boundary conditions and relationships. Further, that the presence of strong, permeable boundaries and mutual relationships is associated with more creative and more productive systems and that such systems tend to show more signs of survival and growth than those with rigid closed boundaries and non-mutual relationships. As evidence and support of these propositions, Alderfer cites numerous studies in both steady and changing states of organizations, individuals and groups. Through a cross-level analysis of the boundary phenomena reported in his review, he draws the following implications: 1) that the primary tasks of systems interventionists involve "identifying, understanding, and changing the nature of boundaries and relationships of individuals, groups and the organization as a whole..." 2) that the primary

goals of such people working with organizations are "to aid in the establishment of relevant boundaries, the opening of closed boundaries, and the movement of relationships from less to more mutuality." He then continues by suggesting, based on research cited, that the "optimal structure...for changing organizations consists of establishing a team including insiders and outsiders..." with firm yet permeable boundaries and mutual relationships among team members and between the team and the system. Further, that permanent change is "most likely to be achieved and sustained if programmed through a series of cycles which include diagnosis, action and evaluation carried out jointly by insiders and outsiders" (ibid., pp. 102-105).

Paradigm

The process of this case study of a school system consultation can be conceptualized as a series of import-conversion-export processes which, in turn, involve a variety of corresponding activities (i.e., units of work). Figure 1 is a schematic representation of this set of processes.

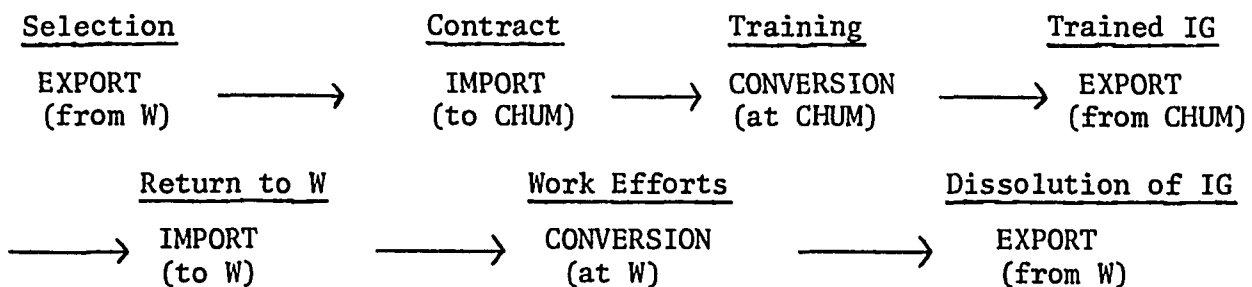


Figure 1.1 Schematic of Processes of CHUM Training for W School System

Where, W = Windyville School System; CHUM = the Center for Human Understanding and Motivation which provides the two weeks of consultation, training and follow-up work (see next chapter); IG = Intervention Group who are selected from W teachers, students, counselors and administrators to attend the two weeks of training and return to effect action around drug abuse.

Within this model the actual people selected to attend the training are themselves the input into CHUM and input again upon their return to W. The training itself is the conversion process. The formation of a team, or trained group with tasks to perform is the export process. Within each process are various activities such as procedures for selection, sessions during the training, and meetings and demonstrations back home.

Each process is separated from another by organizational boundaries. Thus, the IG crosses a boundary when it enters CHUM and again when it leaves the training cycle and finally when it re-enters its own system, now with a new identity. As we shall see, there are many overt and covert as well as rational and non-rational dynamics which mediate these processes and the ultimate outcome.

Purpose

By providing a detailed case study of this consultation, we will explore the following:

- A) A theoretical overview of the W consultation as an import-conversion-export process;
- B) Some of the factors which mediate planned social change;
- C) An evaluation of the technology employed in this intervention;
- D) Strengthen the integration of such data with general systems theory.

By analyzing the process of this consultation in structural terms, specifically a major emphasis on boundary phenomena, it is proposed that our understanding of consultation activities can be strengthened. Thus,

the major contribution of this study will be its heuristic power in our continued learning about social systems.

In sum, general systems theory as it is currently emerging is an effort to unify several scientific disciplines to form a more holistic framework for understanding social systems. Boulding (1956) calls such an approach "the skeleton of science." What this leads to is a better integration of structure and process than currently exists. At this time in our understanding, the NTL (e.g.; Alderfer, op. cit.) approach provides an opportunity to learn mostly about interpersonal dynamics; i.e., only a portion of the process. Similarly, the Tavistock framework (e.g., Miller and Rice, op. cit.) provides some insight into structures that mediate the flow of energy in a system. Organizational consultation must consider both these realms and thus must combine several levels of analysis: the psychological, the social and the organic. That is, to be engaged in thorough organizational development we need to better our understanding of both structure and process, and, the interaction between the two.

Specifically, this account will present contextual information for the reader's understanding of the client and school systems under study. Then we will explore the process of the import and conversion. Next we will examine the re-entry (export) process; in this chapter (VII) data will be presented, interpreted and then theoretical and/or consultation implications will be formulated. Finally, the last chapter will summarize the salient features of this study in terms of their relationship to open systems theory and conclusions will be derived for intervention method and future research.

Since this study attempts to use systems thinking, specifically boundary issues, as a framework for observing the events described, we are limited in scope. That is, there are many other ways of viewing this data. Alternate explanations and interpretations of some activities are, of course, possible and sometimes more enlightening than those offered. For example, for the most part, we do not consider content in our analyses. Trickett and Todd (1972) demonstrate the value of content analysis in understanding the impact of various issues on the high school culture. For our purposes, however, we attempt to explore structural phenomena and their interplay with process. By limiting our analyses to these aspects we seek to clarify this perspective, not to vitiate the value of alternates.

CHAPTER II

METHOD AND PROCEDURES

Introduction

The evaluation of a social action endeavor and the "inductive development" (Walton, 1972) of general systems theory may be approached from essentially two major methodological designs: experiment or sample survey (Hovland, 1959). There are advantages and disadvantages of either approach and often discrepancies result from method choice (cf. Hovland, ibid.). Since so little formal research has been conducted in structural, systems analysis or organizations, there is still the need to articulate finer regions in order to ask more specific, "experimental" questions. Thus, for this study, the sample survey approach was chosen with the intent of providing more specific questions for further research. The field, case-study approach allows for a broad enough scope to accommodate the complexity of the level of analysis required for general system theory development.

Moreover, the author is committed to a combination of social action and systematic refinement and evaluation of the techniques to bring about social change. These needs, then, require a design that approaches the "change experiment" as advocated by Lewin (1948) and others who have attempted to integrate various aspects of the social sciences. Action research "encourages action as well as thought; it engenders a

gratification that derives from involvement in social change and for which there is a clear accountability in the use of a learned discipline" (Bard, 1972, p. 18).

Careful and systematic evaluations and case descriptions of social change efforts are necessary to refine both our techniques and understanding of the processes that mediate outcome. Bard (ibid.) both demonstrates the need for, and rewards from, performing research on difficult but socially crucial action projects. He and his colleagues, through their work with urban police and psychology training, have followed a "spiral of steps" (Bard, ibid.) that increase and refine our knowledge about effective interventions. What they promote is a systematic study of increasingly specific questions which derive from their social interventions. This study of an effort to change a school system attempts to continue in the same spirit.

At this point in our formulations of general systems theory, however, specific questions are limited. The case-study approach serves to generate more explicit future research. Moreover, as we begin to carefully examine field data we encounter the problem of "goodness of fit" of these phenomena with our theoretical developments and with implications for action. Walton (1972) cites six major advantages of the case study:

- (1) inductive development of new and usable theory
- (2) keeping existing theory open to change or refinement
- (3) understanding the processes which mediate interventions and outcomes
- (4) semi-experientially based educational strategy

- (5) avoidance of the depersonalization of change science technology
- (6) basis for judging the applicability of technique.

He expands each of these with attributes that support the trend to expanding scientific research to include "rich descriptive detail" (p. 75) much like that provided in clinical case conferences and research.

Many of the difficulties of the case study or action research approach have discouraged others from conducting such investigations.

Bard (op. cit.) warns the potential action researcher:

you will find yourself occupying a mid-portion among your colleagues and often the target of both. At one extreme, those who defy the methods of the physical sciences will condemn your efforts as failing even the most fundamental tests of experimental method. At the other extreme, reliance on any of the principals of scientific method may cause your work to be regarded as a monument to inhumanity (p. 20).

Indeed this has been the experience during the course of conducting the current research. Not only has there been the external dichotomy cited above, but there has been an intense internal struggle between scientific, objective, quantifiable rigor on the one hand, and more clinical, subjective, inductive reasoning on the other. Further, this work represents the author's efforts to develop his integration of clinical, individual psychology and social systems theory. This has meant struggling to integrate intra-psychic, interpersonal understanding of phenomena based on years of graduate training in this discipline with more systemic structural explanations. Often, clinical training, however, facilitated system analysis. This was especially noticeable in observing covert and non-rational processes which emerge as formally similar to

other phenomena that are part of that dimension focused on by clinicians, although different in content. That is, as a clinician, one is trained to focus on the non-rational, the process, to construct psychic structures derived from these and other observations. In systems analysis, the process is formally similar in that one focuses on non-rational processes and attempts to construct informal and covert structures and processes to account for the data observed.

Units of Analysis

Although this is a case study of a single school consultation, within this sample there are different groups. For the purpose of this study, we will call the team trained at CHUM the intervention group (IG). This group is composed of ten students, fifteen teachers, a guidance counselor and the principal; all from the high school. This IG volunteered and was chosen from a faculty of approximately ninety and from a student body of approximately 1,500. The remaining high school members, then, form various comparison or non-trained groups (NTG). That is, they do not experience any CHUM training. These remaining people fall into still further categories: 1) those teachers (students) who were nominated by their peers to come to CHUM but who chose not to; 2) those who volunteered but were not nominated; and 3) those who were neither nominated nor volunteered. Everyone in the IG and random numbers from the NTG's participated in the following procedures where appropriate.

Sources of Data

Data for this study came from four major sources: (1) observations

of both CHUM and W activities; (2) interviews and interactions with individuals of both W and CHUM; (3) questionnaires and the Classroom Environment Scale (CES) (Trickett and Moos, 1973); and (4) written correspondence, historical information, and other events germane to the analysis.

(1) Observations: allowed for a thorough descriptive format beginning one month before, during and until three months after the two-week training. Groups such as the IG, segments of the NTG, department chairmen, academic departments, student-faculty senate, faculty meetings, CHUM staff meetings, training sessions, and others, were observed to understand both how they operate (i.e., the structure and process of these sub-units) and what the organization is like as a whole. Further, some observations were made of the interaction between the high school and the Board of Education.

Most of the observational data was obtained by a single primary observer, the author. There was, however, random observations by other researchers to provide a measure of inter-observer reliability. Thus two members of the CHUM research and evaluation unit each did two reliability tests:

(1) to observe events at the same time as the primary observer and compare findings; and (2) observe independent events to establish any bias in those reported by the primary observer. These inter-observer reliability checks accounted for approximately ten percent of the data collected in this method.

At this time it might be helpful to describe the primary observer

as his appearance and bearing were far from neutral. That is, we will have to consider some of the findings in light of the reactions participants had to the research team, just as we will view such reactions to the training team.

The primary observer is a twenty-seven year old, dark complexioned, six foot tall, thin man who wears his black hair shoulder length with a rather long, full mustache. He dresses neatly but casually while performing professional roles such as interviewing and observing. Thus he always wore a sportcoat but no tie, dress sport slacks, and carried an attache case. These appearances, therefore, become data for the participants in the study in terms of eliciting stereotypical responses (pro or con; typically pro by the students and con by the older more conservative faculty and administrators).

The other male researcher was about the same age as the primary observer, dressed in a similar fashion and also had long hair, and was clean shaven. The female researcher was also in her twenties and a bit "hip" looking in that she wore long skirts, no bra and long, curly hair. Thus, the entire research team stood in contrast to the sedate, conservative staff of the school and seemed to more closely resemble the student body except for obvious differences in age.

An additional source of confounding variables is the occupation and position of the primary observer, as well as other members of the research team. Not only are these members part of CHUM, but they are also known to be faculty members of the prestigious Eastern University and, therefore, treated with stereotypical responses provoked by this information. In

addition, being identified as a psychologist provokes occasional distortions of one's powers and motives. Maintaining relative silence and sitting on the periphery of meetings was also a focal point for many participants.

Finally, it should be noted that while the stated purpose of this evaluation was to assess CHUM functioning and efficacy, participants still felt that they were being evaluated per se and not providing information about CHUM's work.

We might allow for some additional bias arising from the port of entry of this research team. Thus, we negotiated contracts with the superintendent's office and were allowed to do our evaluation with that consent. Then the principal was delegated the authority to allow us our work in the high school. He then made the introductions to the students and faculty there who have the final decision about what we were allowed to study. That is, we were essentially viewed as sanctioned by various levels of the school administration.

(2) Interviews: were conducted both formally and informally with selected individuals within the above groups. That is, some participants were aware of a planned interview schedule whereas others were providing information in less structured and more spontaneous discussions with the researchers. Here the emphasis was more on the individual or personal perspective rather than the organizational or group level. Thus, implications can be made about role perspectives on systemic issues. These interviews were an ongoing event pre, during and

post-training.

(3) Questionnaires: were administered to all the IG and randomly selected NTG members. These were in three forms: (1) pre-training or baseline data questionnaire which included questions about the environment of the high school (see Appendix A); (2) post-training questionnaires which included many of the items from (1) as well as pertinent questions about re-entry; and (3) Classroom Environment Scale (Trickett and Moos, 1972) which were administered to twenty classrooms before and again after training to measure the effect of training on those subsystems of the school (see Appendix A).

Description of Instruments

(1) Questionnaires (see Appendix A): Since this study was part of a larger CHUM evaluation, some of the data generated is not germane. Thus, the questionnaires contained several questions on drug abuse, attitudes towards drug abusers, and so on, which we shall not investigate here.

The second section of these forms were devoted to questions about the school. These included semantic differentials about the principal, the decision making processes, ranking of issues facing the school, resistances to change, descriptions of authority and responsibility for various areas of functioning, plus assorted other school-environment related items.

Six scales from QUESTA II (Educational Testing Service, 1971), were included. These multiple choice, multi-item scales tapped purposes of

schooling, educational changes, influence of groups, intergroup relations, and sources of personal advice in the high school.

Split samples were given open ended questions about the CHUM trainees, drugs and the school, and the effect of CHUM training on work at the high school.

(2) Classroom Environment Scales (CES) (see Appendix A): These were administered to twenty classrooms before and after training. The sample included five randomly selected teachers' classroom from each of the three NTG's and from the IG. Each classroom contained about twenty-five students and one teacher.

The CES is 90 true-false statements about the environment of that classroom. There are nine sub-scales which include: involvement, affiliation, teacher supportiveness, task orientation, competition, order-organization, rule clarity, rule strictness and innovativeness of that particular class.

Classroom Environment Scale (CES)

Form D

Description of Subscales

1. Involvement: Measures the extent to which students pay attention to and show interest in the activities of the class. Students put a lot of energy into what they do here (T). Students daydream a lot in this class (F).
2. Affiliation: Measures the extent to which students work with and come to know each other within the classroom. Students in this class get to know each other really well (T). There are groups of students who don't get along in this class (F).
3. Support: Measures the extent to which the teacher expresses a personal interest in the students. The teacher goes out of his way to help students (T). Sometimes the teacher embarrasses students for not knowing the right answer (F).

4. Task Orientation: Measures the extent to which the activities of the class are centered around the accomplishment of specified academic objectives.
Almost all class time is spent on the lesson for the day (T).
This teacher often takes time out from the lesson plan to talk about other things (F).
5. Competition: Measures the amount of emphasis on academic competition within the class.
Students try hard to get the best grade (T).
Students usually pass even if they don't do much (F).
6. Order and Organization: Measures the emphasis within the classroom on maintenance of order and the degree to which the activities of the class are well organized.
Activities in this class are clearly and carefully planned (T).
The teacher often has to tell students to calm down (F).
7. Rule Clarity: Measures the degree to which the rules for conduct in the classroom are explicitly stated and clearly understood.
The teacher explains what will happen if a student breaks a rule (T).
Rules in the class seem to change a lot (F).
8. Teacher Control: Measures the degree to which student conduct in the classroom is delimited by the enforcement of rules.
When the teacher makes a rule, he means it (T).
The teacher is not very strict (F).
9. Innovation: Measures the extent to which different modes of teaching and classroom interaction take place in the class.
What students do in class is very different on different days (T).
Students do the same kind of homework almost every day (F).

(From Trickett and Moos, 1973, p. 23-24)

Analyses

The questionnaires responses were given numerical code scores, coded and key punched. A computer program was written (DATA-TEXT) for an IBM 370, to determine frequency distributions and means for each item by each of the four groups of students and teachers and an overall teacher-student comparison. A variety of statistical tests were performed

to determine significance of differences.

Similarly, the CES was computer analyzed to provide mean scores on each of the sub-scales for each classroom. Then mean-sub-scale scores for each of the four groups were compared.

It was originally thought that such statistical analyses of the questionnaires, QUESTA and CES would provide objective data for this study. As often happens in field research, however, this was not as fruitful as was anticipated. The questionnaires and QUESTA mostly detected changes in attitudes. The CES may not have been sufficiently sensitive to the felt changes reported by teachers and students; or, it may have been more valid; or, it might have been that these units of analyses (i.e., classrooms) take longer to be effected and therefore a repeated measure at a later time would be more descriptive.

For whatever reasons, since this more objective data provided little significant input (that which is illuminating, is, of course, included in this report), interviews, observations and impressions became more important. Actually, several methodological issues emerge from this finding.

First, the questionnaires and CES served to tap attitudinal rather than behavioral and/or structural changes. Thus, the reliance on interviews and observations which can more readily assess behavioral and structural shifts. Secondly, responses to written measures differ significantly from responses to the same item in an interview. This selective responsiveness, then, became valuable diagnostic material. Thus, the analysis is sensitive to "don't know" and "no response" findings.

Third, and perhaps most significant, were the differentials in cooperation to the completing of the written forms. That is, invaluable information about the high school and the larger system, was generated by marked reactions to the research. This is reported in a later chapter, but is worth mentioning here in terms of methodology. Thus, one might review the effort of gathering all this quantifiable data and conclude that the results did not merit the cost. Then, one would omit such procedures in a future study. Such a decision, however, would omit the second order information derived from differential cooperation, affective responses (i.e., not those formerly sought on the forms) and systemic reactions elicited by such probing.

The report, then, will include those statistical findings which illuminate the systems phenomena under study, observation and interview information, and data generated by the process of investigation per se. Discussion of this material will involve shifts in levels of analysis as dictated by the nature of field research. That is, both statistical and/or descriptive data will be presented and interspersed rather than artificially separated.

CHAPTER III

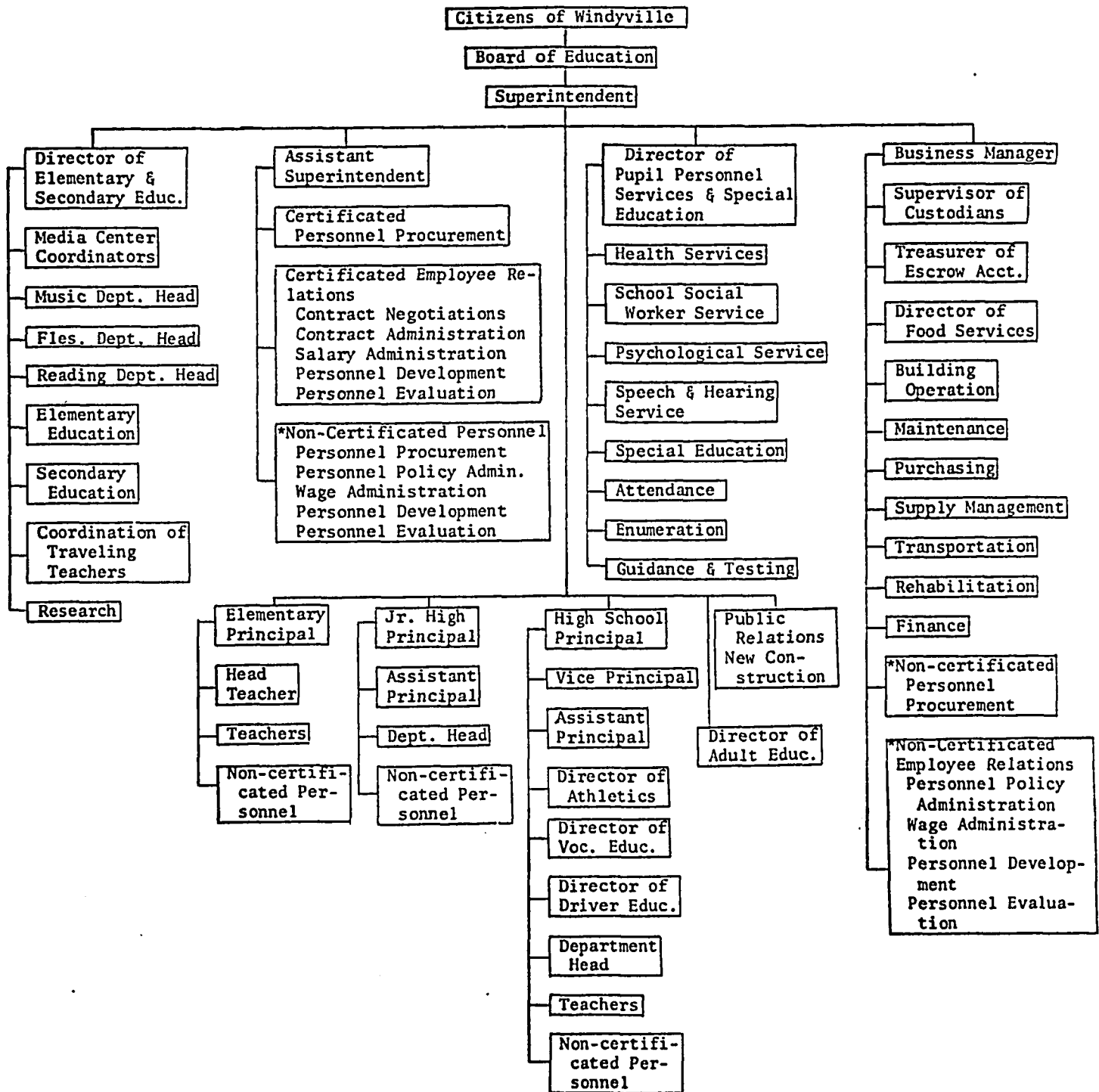
THE CLIENT SYSTEM

While the major focus of this study is a systems analysis of the high school sector of the training team, it is necessary to provide a framework for understanding the overall school system before presenting the specific analysis. This discussion is necessary to understand the larger social system in which the teachers, principal and students operate.

The Windyville School System: External Boundary Management

The formal organization of the W school system is represented in Figure 1. This is a relatively typical organizational structure for New England public schools. As can be seen, major areas of responsibility and authority are delimited. There is an immediate observable difference between the descriptions of the central office administration and that of the schools. Namely, the schools are outlined by role whereas the central office is defined by role and task. Further, each of the roles described in the schools is authorized by a central office figure. What this suggests is an overmanagement of such functioning; both by the school administration (i.e., principal, etc.) as well as by the central office. Further, it suggests a tenuous control over the boundaries of each individual school by the in-school administrators (i.e., principals). That is, the external boundary maintenance of each school is actually an internal boundary within the larger system and is mostly managed by

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF W SCHOOL SYSTEM
(from W Policy and By-Law Manual, 1971)



central office administrators. These interpretations are supported by other data and field observations.

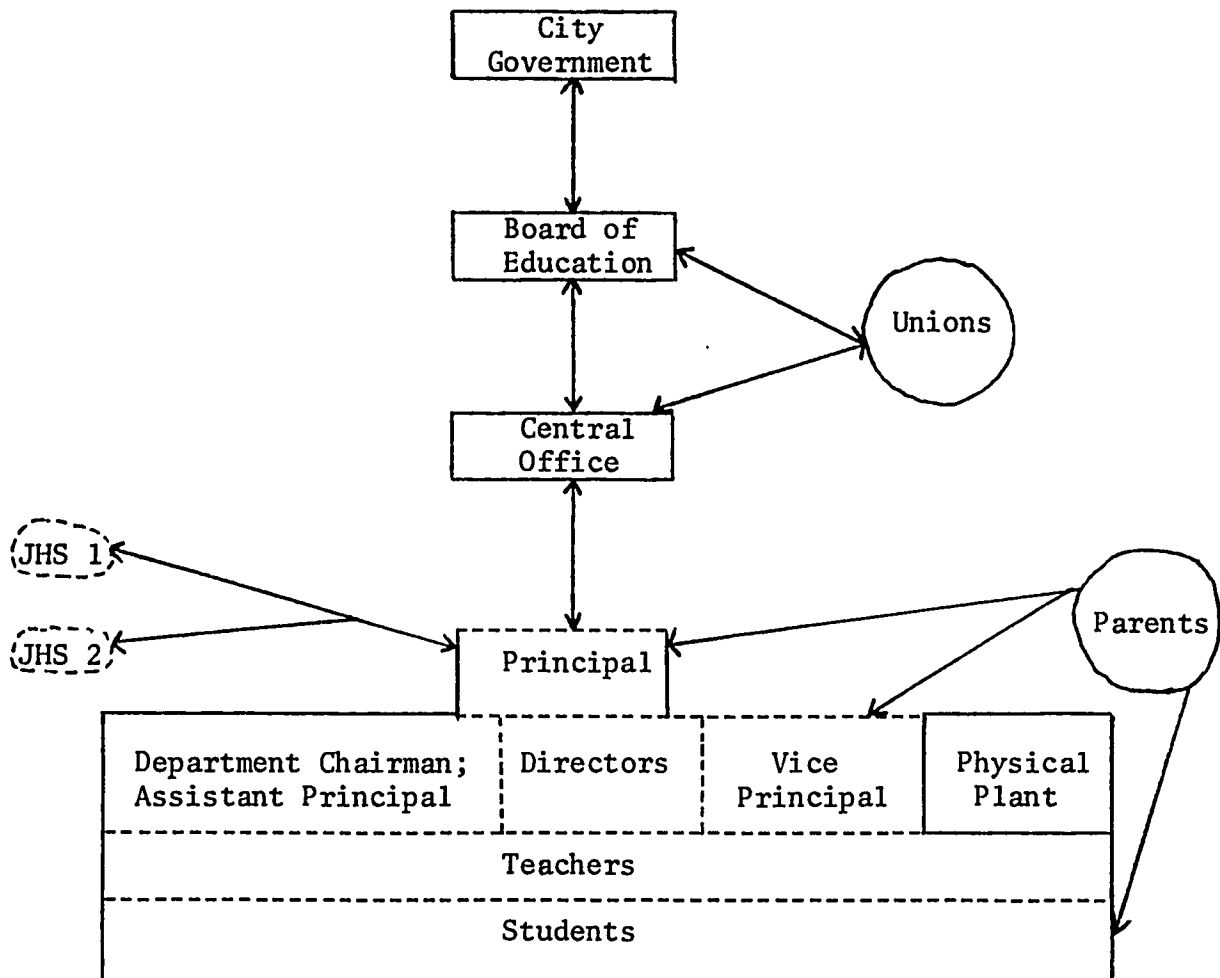
This overmanagement of school external boundaries is further illustrated in Figure 2. Thus, the high school's exchange with outside resources (e.g., unions, other organizations, other schools, etc.) is limited and input is thus minimized. This is especially true for the flow of students from the Junior High Schools to the High School. That is, if a student successfully completes his Junior High School requirements he is automatically admitted to the High School. This guarantees the existence of the High School in terms of input but sacrifices its autonomy.

Carlson (1964) in Aldrich (1971) labels such organizations with "...neither the power to control entry nor the need to compete for members..." (p. 284) as "domesticated" organizations. "Domesticated" organizations, then, "...because of assured resources and ability to disregard the desires of potential members, will be less likely to vary their activities over time than 'wild' organizations (i.e., lacking dependence on other organizations and needing to compete for clients/members), which face a more uncertain environment" (Aldrich, p. 285). The net effect of such little autonomy of control over entry makes the High School extremely dependent on the central office and further allows for little member control over participation.

Cultural Context: This is not an atypical organizational design for public schools in this country. Further, it is not incongruent with the strong conservative stance of the total Windyville community which is itself overmanaging the external boundary of the town. For example,

FIGURE 3.2

SCHEMATIC OF SOME OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS
AND BOUNDARIES OPERATING AT WHS



while W is within only ten minutes of a major urban area which is predominantly populated by blacks, there are only twenty black families of some 10,000 families in this upper-middle class town. The John Birch society is active and heavily supported. There are two historical societies which establish strict zoning codes concerned with appearances and preservation of the old.

"This town has changed. It used to be a small New England town: everybody was born and lived here (except my family; we moved here). Now lots of people from [the nearest city] - Italians - I don't know that that makes that much difference, but it's different... changing." (She looks out the window; to some distant past? Pauses about one minute reflecting.) (School Secretary).

"Appearances" are more than usually important to this town. "Lots of things go on here for the sake of appearances. This is a very old town; lots of history. You can walk down the streets and see it. People are concerned about how things look" (School Administrator). Thus, it is not surprising that this ethic permeates the school system. That is, while maintaining a traditional and conservative stance on academic and social criteria, efforts are made to "appear" progressive by establishing token opportunities for openness and autonomy. For example, the student-faculty-senate is allegedly a body to determine policy within the high school across the boundary between teachers and students. In effect, however, this body is impotent: teachers were appointed by the principal; students are representatives of only one faction of the student body - namely, those who closely conform to the leadership established by

teachers. Recognizing, on some level, their own powerlessness, this body met only four times of the thirteen weeks they were observed.

Such concern with "appearances" parallels what Goffman (1961) calls "latent openness." That is, a set of organizational controls that are basically rigid, repressive, authoritarian but which allow for symbolic expressions of "openness" (e.g., satirical plays performed by students about their school) which give the feeling of temporary openness but in effect, have no power over the daily circumstances and organizational structure and functioning.

Within the central office of this school system, there is another example of "latent openness:" one young, accepting, open, student-oriented, youth liaison counselor for three schools. Where other school systems have several such specialized counselors, W needed only one to serve "appearances."

Another system wide phenomenon is the absence of women in any positions of authority when at least half of all students are female and when close to that (44%) of the teachers are women. There is one woman on the board of education.⁴

⁴It is beyond the scope of this study to adequately describe the additional socioeconomic factors which operate within and outside this complex system. These would include state and federal guidelines for public schools, college requirements, job markets, national trends such as emphasis on certain disciplines (e.g., engineering during the 1950's) and so on. There is no doubt that these are major factors which operate in such public institutions. For example, there is currently a national trend towards "behavioral objectives," i.e., quantifiable guidelines for teaching and learning. The high school studied was continually struggling with these trends as the pressure came from the central office to begin approaching such a system. What was further evident was that the central

With the high school external boundary control so overdetermined and overmanaged by central office administration members, faculty and students have no authority over entry, and therefore minimal participation. Thus, members are apt to experience such boundary transactions⁵ as the import of a special training event (e.g., CHUM) or guidelines for behavioral objectives, as imposed on them with little sense of participation and with coercive pressures for their compliance. Conflict of this sort has been reported and studied in terms of fit between member compliance and organizational goals (Aldrich, 1971, p. 287) but little has been understood about how organizational boundary control and member compliance relate.

Aldrich (ibid.) proposes two strategies that may be used in inter-organizational conflict:

1) Organizational strategy in a situation of conflict may take the form of constricting the boundaries of the organization by strengthening the requirements of participation, with more being asked of each member in the way of conformity to organizational rules and ideology.

2) Organizational strategy may also take the form of expanding the boundaries of the organization so as to take in persons from the

office was being pressured from yet higher sources (e.g., state level education administrations) to implement behavioral objectives. This direction towards accountability, quantification, extended control and other forms of conservatism is certainly underscored by the recent presidential election and national administration trends.

⁵"Transactions" are one-way transfer of resources, as opposed to "exchanges" which imply more mutuality of boundary transactions.

competing organizations or groups in order to make them members of the focal organization.

The two major dimensions to be considered in determining an organizations choice are: (1) "The degree to which the organizations boundaries include the life-space of members; and (2) the potency or degree of the member's involvement in the organization" (Katz and Kahn in Aldrich). In coercive and utilitarian organizations⁶ which include public schools, inclusion of the life-space of members is high and potency of member involvement is low. Thus, such organizations can place coercive demands on members without fear of losing them. The advantage of this choice is that new structures and adjustments necessitated by expansion and inclusion are avoided. The disadvantage in this tightening and strengthening of organizational boundaries is the furthering of member powerlessness, sense of cooptation and dependence.

The High School

When we shift our perspective from the overall school system to the particular High School studied, we find many parallels. Newton and Levinson (1973) illustrate that "structure and process within the work group are influenced by the structure and process of the larger organization; a special role is played here by the workings of authority at the larger organizational level" (p. 3). This tendency toward smaller

⁶cf. Etzioni (1961) for fuller definitions of normative, utilitarian and coercive organizations.

parts of an organization reflecting larger organizational structure and process has also been supported by other systems theorists (cf. Alderfer).

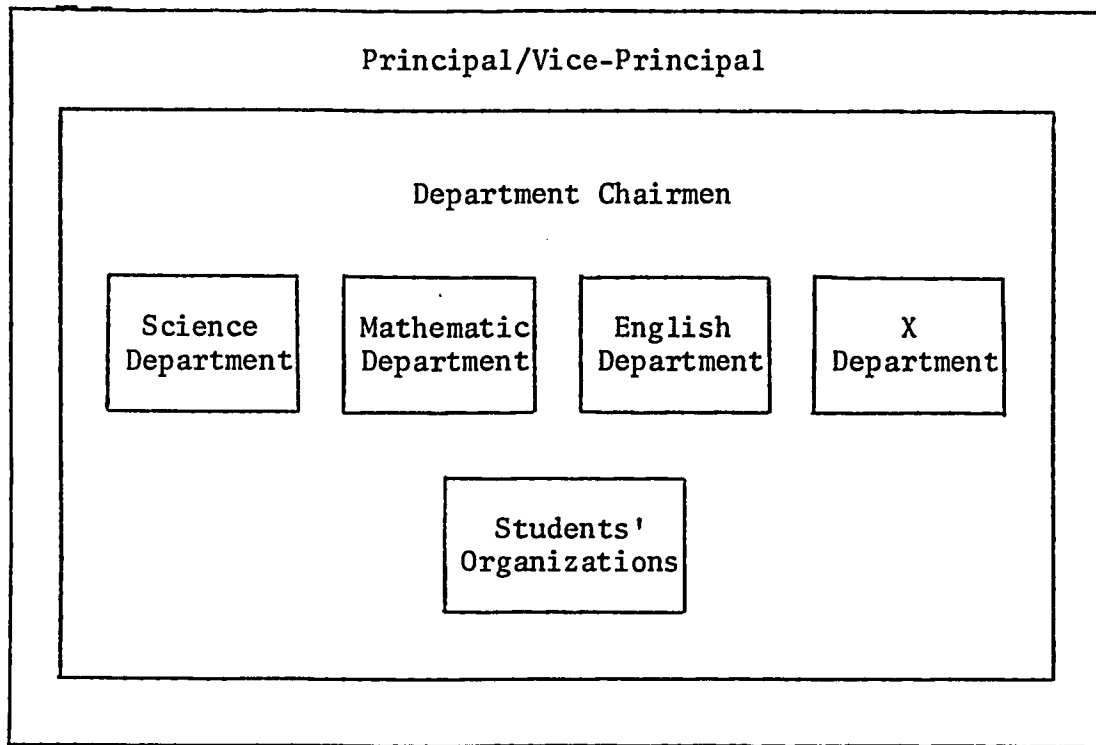
Referring to Figure 3, we see that the control of the external boundary is under the authority of the principal and vice-principal. Internal structure is overtly delegated to department chairmen. That is, these men are responsible for the boundary control region between departments and between departments and administration. Thus, they are responsible for exchanges across these boundaries. Covertly, however, they operate as vehicles for transactions from the administration to the departments. That is, their actual process is top-down. This again leaves members (faculty and students) with little control or participation in the structure or process.

Department Chairmen: Internal Boundary Management

Non-rational processes in work groups are evoked and shaped by the nature of the group's primary task and by the structure which has been created to further task attainment (Newton and Levinson, p. 3). Within the department chairmen group, covert processes operate to further this coercive organizational structure. The primary task of the department chairmen is middle-management of the high school. This group of ten men are responsible for the administration of the various departments (including supervision, evaluation, budget) advising the principal in policy decisions (e.g., master schedule, student meeting, budget), facilitating exchanges across administrative-departmental boundaries (e.g., suggestions for teachers on curriculum). The principal reports that he wants the department chairmen to become more responsible for in-house operations and

FIGURE 3.3

WHS BOUNDARY CONTROL REGIONS



thus take leadership around teaching functioning at the high school. Overtly, then, this group is in a position of significant influence, power and responsibility within the school. Covertly, however, we find non-rational processes mitigating task performance and potential leadership.

Each of these men has risen from a teaching position to department chairman. In so doing, each has left a support group of peers (which filled both task and sentient needs) to join another group whose task is different and often unclear. Most resigned from the teachers' union upon becoming chairmen. "I quit the union because I see myself as an administrator rather than a teacher. I represent the administration to the department, rather than vice versa"⁷ (Department Chairman). Formal specifications exist for this role. But, "a teacher is chosen by the administration [to be a department chairman] because he agrees with those goals, instead of with the department's" (Teacher). The principal makes recommendations to the superintendent's office for reappointment. Thus, if a department chairman wanted to resist a direction begun by the principal or initiate one different than that sanctioned, he would face considerable problems with exercising the little authority he has as well as "real-life" threats such as losing his job. While this is the dilemma of leadership in most organizations, it is especially acute here since these men are so embedded in this organization where structures encourage dependence.

⁷Lieberman (1958) reports shifts in role leading to shift in task performance appropriate to new role expectations.

Internal Process: This dependence is noteworthy. First, it reiterates the dilemma of a member in a coercive organization. Namely, since he has little participation in maintaining external boundaries, he is subject to the directions chosen by those who do. Thus, this group is continually struggling with its dependence on the principal. He not only begins and ends the meetings, often at different times than agreed, but he comes to each meeting equipped with candy which is eagerly eaten and passed around during meetings.

Furthermore, the principal provides the directions and most of the inputs for these meetings. That is, he makes transactions across the high school - central office boundary by bringing directives to the department chairmen. The principal invites members from the central office to these meetings after having cleared the way. He runs these meetings with an air of formality demonstrated by minutes and agenda, but there is another level: a type of infantilizing, railroading of the chairmen. Some examples follow:

Meeting #12

DC: (While the principal is reading minutes from the special meeting before last) What about the minutes for the last meeting?

Princ: We don't have any. We just went over the student smoking guidelines. [These guidelines, however, are rather controversial]. We did change the minutes a bit because we wanted to get it out.

DC: I object to that procedure!

Princ: Do you want that in the minutes?

DC: No. Just register it!

Meeting #2: (20 minutes into the meeting)

Princ: O.K., here's the first item on the agenda: the re-assignment of some staff from monitoring duties to activities agreed upon by the department chairman and the individual teachers. For example, if there are four people on the cafeteria [monitoring student lunch] that's about sixteen hours per four week period that someone can do something else. For example, a review of course material from a workshop; write behavioral objectives for a section of a course; etc. We could not assign any teacher to a group of students because that would be a teaching assignment, and these are limited according to the union contract.

DC 1: I'm trying to put myself into the position of such a teacher. The cafeteria involves supervision but no intellectual effort.

Princ: It involves judgment.

DC 1: But it can be seen as a respite from such intellectual effort. I might prefer to stay as a monitor.

Princ: It can be only one out of the four.

DC 2: You mean, it's voluntary?!?

Princ: It can be...

DC 1: There's going to be some trouble. It'll be an increase on the others supervising.

DC 3: It'll be shared.

DC 1: My concern goes further. Most teachers are over extended right now in terms of psychological energy. One more activity will be an over-commitment. This might, and probably would, detract from their behavior in the classroom.

[The discussion continues. A fight occurs when the principal interrupts ("you cut me off!") one of the department chairmen. The principal explains a need to justify the use of staff time to the board of education. After approximately fifteen minutes of continued bantering back and forth, the principal states:]

Princ: We are talking about only one teacher per period being reassigned.

DC 4: What are the elements that gave rise to this suggestion?

V-Princ: May I speak to that. Somewhere along the lines we had to begin demonstrating that we can do research, that we can quantify some of these processes that we are engaged in. In that gentlemen, you will have to be involved. We all have to try.

DC 6: I understand that a letter was sent to you directly.

V-Princ: Yes, about administrative things, but for educational matters there may be something that we can find that turns some people on. For example, (to another chairman) in your department field trips, I don't know, something.

DC 7: Don't take those teachers already turned on and dilute them with additional work. (When one of the leaders of the resistance to this move to use teachers for writing behavioral objectives begins to voice additional dissent, the principal interrupts him again and turns to another department chairman and says, you're next aren't you? The discussion qua-fight continues for another twenty minutes. Then at one point the principal says:)

Princ: (in a slow, impassioned plea tone) We must develop those thirty-six hours, two teachers worth, that can be replaced by monitors. We can approach this budgetarily but I don't want to do it that way.

DC 1: How about a compromise? How about a couple of hours?

DC 2: It ought to be purely voluntary.

Princ: How about having the teachers submit a proposal, for example to review course teaching as a background for behavioral objectives.

DC 3: Yes, it should be one voluntary and two, the person doing it should submit a written proposal.

Princ: Who determines which activity is worthwhile, the department chairmen?

DC 7: What if two people want to do it?

Princ: Give them two and a half weeks a piece.

DC 3: How do we determine priority?

Princ: All things being equal, seniority (laughs). I'm going to make this available, by asking written proposals to go to department chairmen for his approval. O.K. gentlemen, third item on the agenda, the master schedule. (The discussion that follows on the master schedule is formerly similar to that of the behavioral objectives. That is, the principal has a hidden agenda as to how he would like the schedule to appear).

As in most small groups, this basic assumption dependency is experienced ambivalently. Thus, there are at the same time wishes and/or fantasies that the principal (leader) will take care of the chairmen (members) and also a resentment of his power over them. This ambivalence is expressed in many ways. One way is in the impotence and submission demonstrated in the observation cited above. Another is in the waging of pseudo-battles as evidenced in the above meeting. That these are pseudo-battles and not genuine opposition is supported by three factors: (1) there is no effort to follow through either at the time or later; (2) the individuals who lead these counter-positions often assume this role in the group verbally and non-verbally (e.g., in seating arrangements, body position, lateness, etc.); and (3) there is often little substance to the opposition nor real commitment to the issue, but rather to the process of the battle.

Yet another way of demonstrating the ambivalent dependence is in agreeing to perform certain tasks in the meeting and then not doing so.

For example, in one of the early department chairmen meetings, the principal suggested that students going to CHUM be given special assignments that would integrate their training experience with their academic work. He suggested specific ideas for science and social studies and then

stated others could be created by teachers and department chairmen.

Following this meeting and agreement, none of the chairmen made this recommendation to their departments. On one level, this can be seen as a rebellion against the principal. We would, however, also have to understand this as some fear of repercussions from their teachers, some of whom were unreceptive to the CHUM training and might see such assignments as an intrusion into their domain.

Structure and Process: We could spend considerably more time analyzing the non-rational functioning of this group. However, what is more germane is to recognize the interplay of the structure in which this group operates and how this affects their functioning, overtly and covertly. We have seen that their lack of participation in establishing or maintaining external boundaries gives rise to a dependent stance. This is furthered by their role within the total functioning of the school, i.e., not belonging to a group of teachers, students or being true administrators. As the vice-principal described it, "if we [principal and vice-principal] are 'black,' the teachers 'white,' then the department chairmen are 'gray'." Moreover, this group is being forced to share additional responsibility with the administration without being given (or without seizing) power and authority over these areas. One motivating factor in this direction was a student strike a year ago. Ever since then, both teachers and administrators have been increasingly fearful of the students. The principal put it this way: "if the students strike, I lose my job. They [the central office, on up] have to find a scapegoat. I need help in getting things managed within the

school. I'm looking to the department chairmen to do that job."

Teachers

There are about ninety faculty members at WHS, including guidance, special education and regular departments. The primary task of teachers is teaching. Their task is circumscribed by area (e.g., Science, English), class or topic (e.g., Biology, Chemistry), level (e.g., honors, remedial), periods and also by overall standards set forth by national, local and departmental guidelines. Their task performance is further influenced by their own abilities and level of commitment, work load (e.g., number of periods teaching), students' behavior, time of year, day and a host of other variables. Most teachers at WHS feel that it is generally a good place to teach (62%). More than half (64%) of all these teachers want to remain as teachers. Relatively few want to become administrators either in school or out (less than 20%). The physical plant is, for the most, pleasant and appropriate for their tasks with adequate lounge and working areas.

The secondary tasks of teachers include a range of compulsory and voluntary activities: student evaluations, discipline; supervision of halls, study halls, cafeteria, etc.; advisor to clubs, teams, etc.; individual work with students; staff meetings; in-service training; etc. Time in these, as well as in primary task performance, is determined by a union contract with the central office, and is formally a part of their job description. Grievances are taken to the union. Tenure is decided by department chairmen by guidelines established by the union

and the central office.

There are formal divisions of teachers by department. Further, there are, however, many informal or sentient groupings based on age, sex, commitment, pedagogy, philosophy, politics, and the like. There are factions within the faculty who never talk to each other (e.g., near retirement, conservative types vs. young, student-oriented types). Despite these vast differences, appearances are maintained of having a well-knit, cooperative faculty.

Teachers repeatedly feel a lack of participation in how their organization functions. Thus 79% report being informed after decisions are made about educational, administrative and/or special policy. Yet, most feel that they can, if they seek to do so, have a say in new course offerings. Observations and interviews, however, suggest a feeling of "not being heard," "not being represented," "electives we suggest are not brought to administration." The main union goals include greater involvement of teachers in decision making of all sorts. Yet, in this school where all faculty except about 10% are represented by either teacher's union, these organizations are relatively inactive. Meetings, except for officers, are sporadic and poorly attended. During the first six weeks of observations there were no meetings of either organization. The administration is somewhat cautious in its approaching the union. The leaders are seen as "dissidents" and potentially volatile.

Department meetings are once a month. The primary tasks are an exchange of information across the faculty-administration boundary and

any departmental business. Not surprisingly, these meetings mirror department chairmen meetings in the non-rational events that occur during the formal agenda.

Fearfulness is characteristic of a large portion of this relatively conservative faculty. Many reported not only being suspicious of the research, but also CHUM, those going to CHUM, fearful of students (never specified, except as their having the potential to organize a strike and make the school look bad), fearful and angry at the administration both within the high school and at higher levels. This fantasy of their vulnerability again supports the level of dependence and impotence and lack of participation of members in this organization.

Role Boundaries: For the most part teachers spend little (approximately two hours/week) time with students outside of class; very few (approximately 10%) report students seeking them out for personal problems. Part of the limited contact is that teachers have only one free period per day. This time is often needed for class preparation, other administrative work, or simply being alone. Faculty almost never (less than 1%) eat lunch with students. Some of this non-academic relating with students is filled by working with clubs, etc. Guidance counselors, of course, spend the bulk of their time in such contacts with students. Even they complain, though, that there is not enough trust, contact or opportunity for meeting the affective needs of students. This relatively permeable boundary between students and faculty reflects the nature of the other boundaries described above. This is in accordance with Alderfer's (op. cit.) proposition that internal boundary maintenance

mirror external boundary maintenance.

Students

There are approximately 1,500 students at WHS ranging from sophomores to seniors. While students are the primary consumers in this organization, they have the least power, authority or rights of all the sub-units. Reference has already been made to the student-faculty-senate as an example of the lack of legitimate representation and participation of students in how their school is run. Student government is in even a more impotent role and generally makes no pretenses of participation. There is an official school paper published four times per year which is apolitical. An underground paper, published sporadically, about three times per year, is more political and critical of school policies but is done by students in facilities outside of school, without any faculty advisor.

This lack of participation, paralleling that of staff but in even more exaggerated form, contributes to students' mistrust of staff. Students do not trust staff to be concerned about them, to treat them with respect and trust, as young adults, to allow them any power in decision-making, and so on. Paradoxically, the same is true for staff; i.e., they mistrust students. It is, then, a system dynamic and thus we need to look at organizational structure as to how it contributes to this mistrust.

The extant choice of the W school system has been to operate without trust, resulting in staff and student coercion by more powerful administrators (central office and school board). Many students respond to this

stance by relegating school to an irrelevance. Only rarely have students seized their own power and thus amplified their voice in decision making. At W, parents, who are possible student advocates, are systematically excluded (there is no parents' association) and thus have abdicated their control over educational provisions. Another option open to students (and staff) "...is to seek to open up clogged communication and influence channels, to seek an alteration of control patterns, and to seek to rebuild patterns of collaboration, mutual trust and respect throughout the school" (Wittes, et al., p. 41). This option is very difficult to implement beyond rhetoric. It is the choice espoused by the training institute (CHUM) and it is the choice espoused by the trainees who attended the two week program.

Summary

During initial research interviews with faculty, students and administration, repeated complaints appeared about the "poor or lack of communication" within the high school. While many did not elaborate further on what this entailed, some did. In essence, and in boundary terms, what seemed to be a problem in this school (as it is in so many) was that the boundaries between and among faculty-students-administrators are not adequately permeable, do not foster symmetry in relationships between the various groups, and are non-mutually related. Many tied this communication gap to student alienation and consequent drug abuse. It is evident that this perceived difficulty fits with the observations outlined above and is certainly not unique to the school involved in this study.

Systems intervention, then, would attend to this boundary problem. Diagnostic information would assess the management and placement of these organizational, task and sentient boundaries. Subsequent interventions would, de facto, create changes in the nature of these relationships, positive or negative. A stated goal might be to make the boundaries more permeable, more mutually related and managed in a way so that structures would be established that met both task and sentient needs within and among groups. The creation of a subset of teachers, students and administrators, as is the case here, begins to effect these boundaries.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRAINING INSTITUTE

The Center for Human Understanding and Motivation (hereafter: CHUM) is part of the Eastern University (hereafter: EU) Department of Psychiatry and is also part of the Mental Health Center (MHC), Training and Consultation (TAC) Division. CHUM is funded by the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) and the United States Office of Education (USOE). The primary task of CHUM is to provide training and to conduct research related to the treatment and prevention of drug dependence. Since CHUM views drug abuse as a symptom of a larger set of psychosocial problems, its focus is on attempting to change those institutions that have a major impact on youth. Thus, approximately one-third of its time is devoted to school consultation by way of training teams from school systems from surrounding towns such as the population of this study; by directly consulting to local school settings; and by providing resources (e.g., lectures, group work training) to a variety of educational facilities.⁸

⁸CHUM also provides training and consultation for non-educational settings such as clinics for drug dependent patients, youth crisis centers, community based prevention and referral centers and other social service agencies such as state hospitals, U. S. Army counseling centers. This work accounts for approximately the remainder of CHUM's training and consultation activities.

Staff

The staff of CHUM consists of approximately twenty-four people ranging in age (twenty-five to forty-two), from various work and educational backgrounds. Within this group is a variety of skills and philosophies about training, treatment, education and research consonant with the variety of backgrounds which include blacks and whites, Ph.D.'s, M.D.'s, ex-addicts, educators and community organizers. While there is, in fact, this variation among staff, the predominant image (both internally and externally) of the "typical" CHUM staff person is young (average age about twenty-eight years), informally dressed, liberal to radical political stance, "hip" and interpersonally competent. Because of its affiliation with EU, several of the staff offer courses and perform other university activities. This adds to the stereotype that clients often have of the staff; namely, somewhat elite, occupying prestigious and superior positions of academic status and thus, "experts." When asked to list their stereotypes of CHUM staff, the W group reinforced the above description by using the following adjectives: "hip, experts, open, intellectuals, group leaders, radicalibs, responsible, McGovernites, ivory-towerish, slick" and so on. This set of expectations or stereotypes is commonly presented by groups of trainees on the first day.

One of the overt goals of the staff is to reduce the stereotyping so that felt differences between the staff and the trainees (often the stereotypes offered of themselves puts trainees as more conventional, less "hip" and less competent) do not interfere with the learning process. Covertly, however, many CHUM staff perpetuate and exaggerate the glorified

impressions that trainees have of them. For example, one lecturer consistently uses highly technical, sometimes inappropriate terms as a way of bolstering his own sense of authority or expertise; trainees, not wanting to appear less informed than they already feel, rarely ask for definitions, fortunately, since sometimes these might not be as profound in their import, and since sometimes such definitions might be unknown to the lecturer!

Boundary Management: The organizational design of CHUM is diagrammed in Figures 1 and 2. Figure 1 demonstrates the relationships with other agencies. PAC is a corporation established to receive some of the USOE funding. DTU is the Mental Health Center's Drug Treatment Unit which is a major multi-modality treatment program. The DTU provides lecturers, field visit sites, patients for training sessions, as well as other resources for CHUM.

Figure 2 is an actual working diagram of CHUM functioning. The "wheel" structure implies the centrality of the Director. While CHUM was a small institute (approximately twelve staff) this structure was viable. At the time of this study, however, CHUM had begun to expand to about twenty-four staff and had been funded to go to forty-six. Thus, at that point in time this facility was undergoing marked transition and growth. Its system boundaries, then, were changing with concomitant task and sentient boundary shifts. The organizational design, then, was becoming obsolete and shortly after the W group was trained, underwent complete restructuring to accommodate the increased number of staff and the multiple training tasks. Consequently, CHUM boundary maintenance reflected

FIGURE 4.1
CHUM FUNDING AND ORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

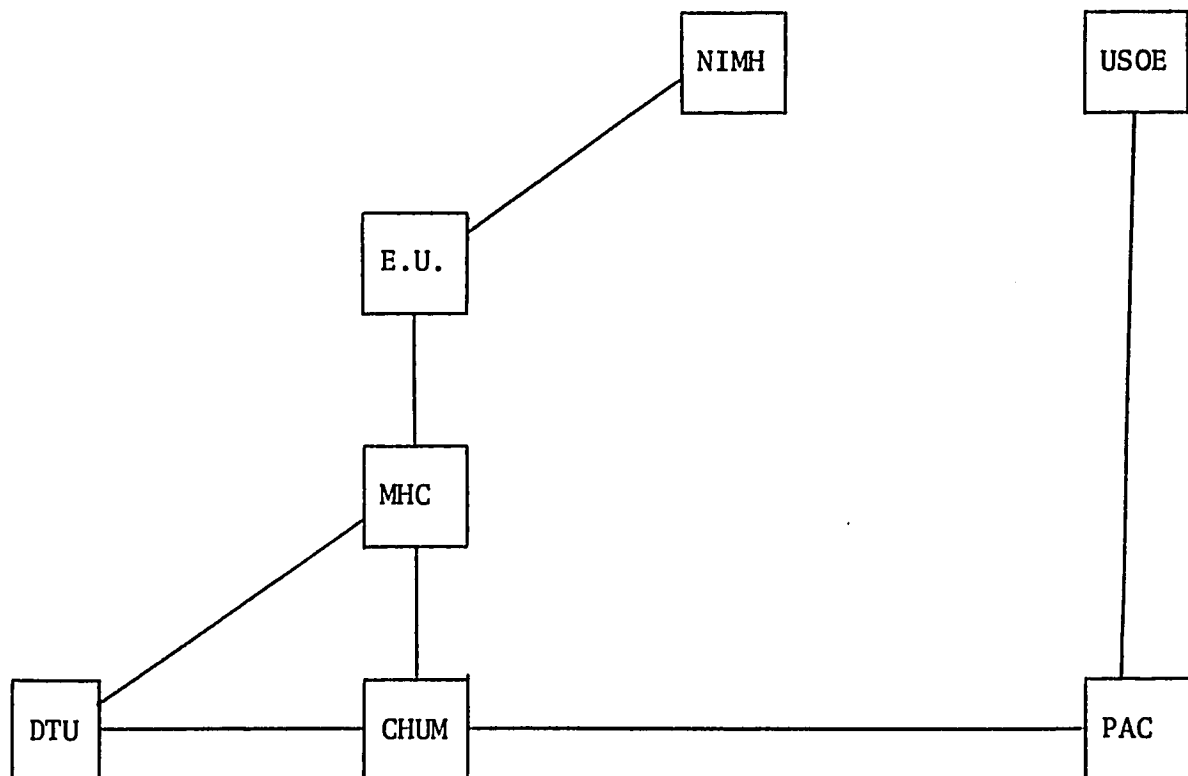
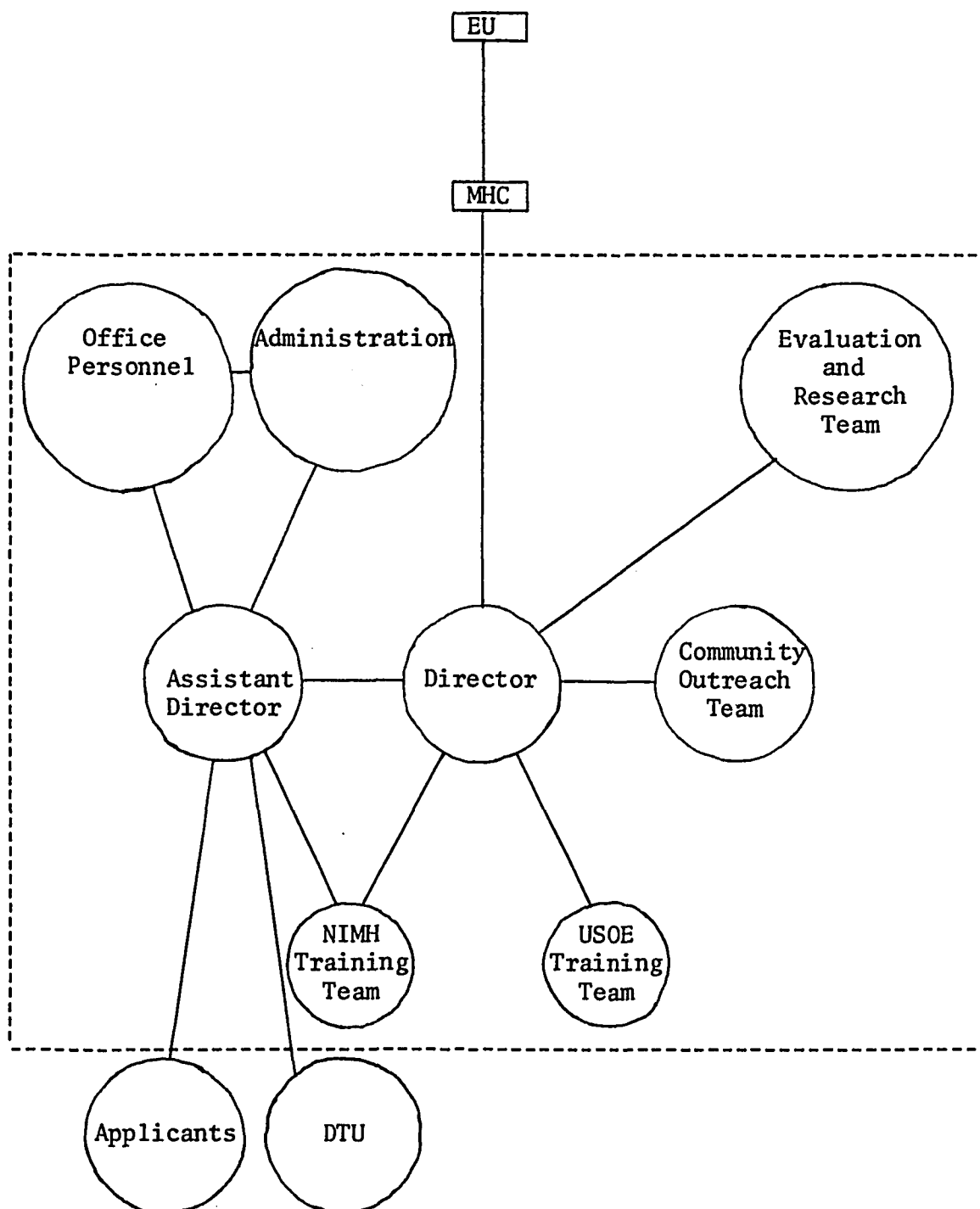


FIGURE 4.2
CHUM INTERNAL ORGANIZATION



this internal flux. External boundaries were less clear than before because of new affiliations, changes in locations, and new personnel responsible for managing these. In fact, the delegation of external boundary management was markedly confused. At times, the associate directors, their roles not yet finalized, clashed around who was responsible or who had the authority for which activity. Moreover, with the advent of the additional contracts, CHUM gained new power with EU; CHUM now had the ability to finance activities in other departments. This both secured its affiliation and paradoxically also allowed greater independence. As a result, more frequent misrepresentation of EU affiliation occurred. This latter aspect, then, contributed to CHUM collusion with W in partially misrepresenting sponsorship of the two week conference (cf. Chapter V for a fuller description of this collusion).

More significant for our understanding of this particular study, however, was the deployment of staff during the W training cycle. First, the director, assistant director, administrator, three trainers and a secretary were all conducting a training program for the U. S. Army in a European country as this program was being conducted. This left the training and planning to one senior person, a relatively new staff member and to two other trainers. As a result of the personnel shortage, three new staff were brought in to assist in the training.

Further, a great deal of energy was being devoted at this time to the establishment of the USOE program. Thus, considerable staff time was spent interviewing applicants for staff positions, trips to Washington for training and negotiations, searching for new space, and the like.

Each of these was at the overt level. On the covert level, moreover, a constant issue was the emerging intergroup between the new USOE staff and the old CHUM members; fears and fantasies of competition, priorities, being lost in a new and large organization, and so on.

As a result of these emerging forces, a new organization evolved for effecting training. A team was established that was primarily responsible for conducting the training. With this came a new conceptualization for the model of training design, leadership struggles, and team building issues within the staff. Further, a sudden sense of responsibility for the training now rested with a few who previously had relied on the leadership coming from others. Given the centrality of the director as suggested by Figure 2, his absence at this time was severely felt among the staff left behind. Much of this reorganization and shift in training model was experienced overtly and covertly by the trainees as we shall see later. A parallel existed, then, between the powerlessness felt by the CHUM staff during this time and that felt by the high school staff generally.

Culture: Partly a result of the global task of CHUM, partly a result of its perceived staff image as described above, partly its affiliation with EU, its reputation with other clients, its loose and shifting organizational structure, and probably many other factors, CHUM is perceived as a dynamic institution clearly different than traditional school systems.

The CHUM culture, then, is perceived and expected to be significantly different from the client setting by those coming for training. This

expectation is further maintained by the staff at CHUM. They believe⁹ that they have a Y-type (McGregor, 1960) organization, characterized by trust, cooperation, mutuality, participation, and so on. Further, that their clients come from X-type organizations: authoritarian, impersonal, rigid, dehumanizing, and so on. The stated purpose of creating a learning environment as a model for social intervention is based on this dichotomy. That is, the staff believe that they establish a model through the culture of the training cycle that assists the growth and development of trainees who will then effect such changes back home.

The Program

The major CHUM training program is a full-time, two-week experience consisting of formal lectures, discussions, group process workshops, field visits and team building sessions. The stated goals of such programs as they appear in the CHUM bulletin are:

Each trainee or teams of trainees is encouraged to develop a personal or group philosophy about the causes of drug abuse and other self-destructive behaviors; and to develop ideas about strategies that might mitigate these factors. These evolving ideas about prevention can be tested and refined by examining prevention and education programs currently in operation in various settings. This would include identifying the values and assumptions underlying these programs as well as investigating the apparent effectiveness of the programs. Finally, interns will be asked:

- 1) to diagnose factors potentially leading to the

⁹The word "believe" is used here because, in actuality, the CHUM organizational structure and functioning is not purely "Y."

destruction of human potential in their own "back-home" situations;

- 2) to evaluate programs and activities already operating to reduce "root causes" in their "back-home" situations; and,
- 3) to develop plans and strategies appropriate to the problems identified.¹⁰

The specific objectives established by the training team for this cycle included:

- 1) to provide information about drug abuse and about the drug field,
- 2) to confront trainee assumptions about drug use and abuse,
- 3) to confront trainee stereotypes,
- 4) to build an atmosphere during the two weeks such that learning can take place,
- 5) to identify problems in, and effect adequate team building by identifying common issues, back-home needs, and program planning across schools within W, and
- 6) to create a simulated educational setting for self study and application to back-home problem identification and resolution.¹¹

These training objectives were derived from four sources. First, the report from the drug abuse survey done the previous year by EU's consultant to W (see Appendix B). Second, from information gathered at an initial meeting of CHUM administration and W representatives. Third, from two pre-investigation meetings conducted by CHUM trainers at W. And fourth, from the existing repertoire of CHUM training resources.

The following is the actual training schedule for the two-week workshop designed for the W school system:

¹⁰CHUM bulletin, p. 6.

¹¹CHUM staff planning session.

CENTER FOR HUMAN UNDERSTANDING AND MOTIVATION

Schedule

Internship Program January 31 - February 11, 1972

Unless otherwise indicated, all sessions will be held in the second floor conference room at the Inn.

Monday, January 31

9:00 - 11:00	Orientation
11:00 - 12:00	Research
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 2:30	Pharmacology
2:30 - 3:00	Break
3:00 - 5:00	Building a Learning Community

Tuesday, February 1

9:00 - 5:00	Learning Laboratory
7:00 - 9:00	Street Life

Wednesday, February 2

9:00 - 12:00	Learning Laboratory
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 2:45	Treatment Programs and Philosophies
2:45 - 3:00	Break
3:00 - 5:00	Drugs and the Bodily Processes

Thursday, February 3

9:00 - 10:30	Learning Laboratory
10:30 - 12:00	Soft Drugs
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 2:45	Crisis Intervention and Brief Treatment
2:45 - 3:00	Break
3:00 - 5:00	Learning Laboratory

Friday, February 4

9:00 - 12:00	Learning Laboratory
12:00 - 1:00	Lunch
1:00 - 3:00	Goal Setting and Planning
3:00 - 3:15	Break
3:15 - 5:00	Screening and Evaluation

Saturday, February 5

8:30 - 11:00 p.m.

Therapeutic Community

Monday, February 7

9:00 - 10:30

Understanding Social Problems

10:30 - 10:45

Break

10:45 - 12:00

The School as an Organization

12:00 - 1:00

Lunch

1:00 - 2:00

Community Meeting

2:00 - 5:00

Open

7:00 - 9:00

Psychedelic Drug Use

Tuesday, February 8

9:00 - 5:00

Simulation

Wednesday, February 9

9:00 - 12:00

Open

12:00 - 1:00

Lunch

1:00 - 5:00

Open

7:00 - 9:00

Sharp Theater - Small Group Discussion

Thursday, February 10

9:00 - 10:30

Community Meeting

10:30 - 12:00

Open

12:00 - 1:00

Lunch

1:00 - 2:30

Drugs and the Law

2:30 - 5:00

Open

Friday, February 11

9:00 - 2:00

Open

2:00 - 4:00

Evaluation

WINDYVILLE PROGRAM

Tuesday Afternoon

Thinking of how education could take place is one step toward finding out how schools can be improved. Having the chance to safely experiment with changing structures, curricula, and ways of relating in the learning setting is still another. Testing ideas and values by trying to put them into action in a laboratory such as ours could be seen as a middle step between discussing innovation in schools and intervening in the real life situation.

This afternoon is intended to be an opportunity for each person to learn what it is like to work at creating an ideal school. You will be responsible for your own learning and for making a contribution to the learning of others.

The necessities of managing this school; of identifying learning needs and educational resources; of resolving conflicts between individuals and groups; and of assessing the effectiveness of this school as it operates are all recognized. However, no prior structuring or rule making has been done outside of the schedule below.

What this school does, how it is run, how the various parts communicate, what roles exist, and the ways of reorganizing and correcting its performance will be a function of our interactions this afternoon.

There is no right or wrong way for this school to come into existence.

1:00 - 2:30 p.m.	Begin the School - Eli Room
2:30 - 3:00 p.m.	Community Meeting - Look at Reorganization
3:00 - 4:30 p.m.	The School Goes On
4:30 - 5:00 p.m.	Sharing - Eli Room

As was mentioned earlier, with the advent of the training team came related changes in CHUM functioning. One of these was a shift in style of training. That is, CHUM itself was involved in team building efforts which included struggles around new leadership, new members and redefined tasks. Many staff who had become accustomed to relying on the charismatic, black, male director, were now having to accommodate to a different leader: a white woman whose approach was much more psychologically oriented and considerably less dynamic. Moreover, issues of competence, seniority, ownership, style of training, and the like, were evident among the new and old staff.

Thus, the woman who was primarily responsible for leading this new team introduced the concept of a "Learning Community" and "learning laboratory." Essentially what these entail were series of lectures, demonstrations and experiential exercises based on those developed at the National Training Laboratories (NTL) at Bethel, Maine for understanding group dynamics, personal growth and the rudiments of organizational development. The culmination of these daily events was to be the day-long school simulation and subsequent application groups. The latter were to be scheduled during the "open" times at the end of the cycle and were intended to be working sessions with two primary tasks: 1) team building for those groups slated to continue working together back home; and 2) diagnostic formulations and rudimentary plans of action for changing the W school system.

The Learning Laboratories began with lectures on group functioning based on the interpersonal perspectives offered by NTL as described by

Schein and Bennis (1965) and others. Thus, lectures were given on stages of group development, basic group dynamics, organizational development, Lewin's (1948) theory of social change ("unfreezing, restructuring, re-freezing") and so on, in a fashion that could be understood by high school sophomores as well as by the assistant superintendent of schools. Exercises included "Who Am I," "Joharri Window," "life raft" and others (cf. NTL Handbook, 1967). Further, the trainees were introduced to a technology of information sharing called the "fishbowl." This involved small task groups (broken down by school teams) to meet in separate rooms to either conduct some of the suggested exercises or to do brainstorming and diagnostic work about back-home situations. Then, upon their return to the general meeting room, each group would send a representative into a center circle wherein reports would be delivered of what occurred in the prior meetings.

Trainees typically find these exercises compelling and useful. What is actually learned during this time, by necessity, varies greatly from person to person. At the minimal level, people learn a basic technology of handling large groups via the fishbowl. They also learn a lot of jargon which is replete throughout these events. Words such as "feelings," "get a handle on...", "process," "I hear you...", become cliché. Symbolically they represent trainee efforts at grappling with the concepts and experiences of these events. Others learn, or express the belief that they learn, a lot about group dynamics, interpersonal

relations, others and themselves. Often the task of these learning laboratories is unclear. That is, it is possible to believe that the task is to learn about oneself, and/or to learn about others, and/or to learn about group process, and/or to learn about organizations, and/or to have a cathartic experience, and/or to settle an old dispute with some peer, and/or to level differences between status groups, and/or to attempt team building, ad infinitum. Considerable literature is available on this mode of learning. One significant shortcoming of this model of training is its relative emphasis on the conscious ability to effect personal or systems change. That is, it does not systematically focus on the depth of such experience and situations. Little attention is paid to covert functioning, unconscious motivation, or non-rational dynamics. Further, the spirit generated is one of building an environment which fosters such righteous virtues as love, trust, openness, sharing, cooperation, and the like, culminating in some final "togetherness." Frequently, these virtues are achieved at the cost of struggling with more painful dynamics such as competition, envy, fear, anxiety, anger, and other less admirable states.

During these laboratories, CHUM staff is available as facilitators to both small and large group meetings. Often, however, the staff during this cycle was as inexperienced as some of the trainees and would, thus, get as caught up in the process generated by the situation. It is during these learning laboratories, in the community meetings, and during informal time that sentient groups from both within the team and throughout the entire training group (often composed of more than one team). It is

also here that efforts are directed at making this team a work group as well. It is, further, during these events that a rudimentary team of insiders (clients) and outsiders (CHUM staff) is formed much like the model that Alderfer suggests (cf. Chapter I).

By providing an opportunity for the trainees to learn about some of the covert dynamics which impede or enhance their work efforts, the CHUM staff facilitates these becoming overt. Once this learning has begun there is an opportunity to take action to control (or to at least be aware of) such non-rational processes back home. While this particular model (i.e., NTL-type Learning Laboratory) does not focus primarily on such covert or non-rational dynamics, there is an elementary beginning taken. Other models of training (e.g., Group Relations Conferences in the style of those sponsored by the A. K. Rice Institute and based on the Tavistock framework of understanding) are occasionally used at CHUM. The advantage of this approach is its direct focus on covert group level dynamics. Thus, participants have an opportunity to more clearly learn about such processes and then to apply them to their working situations. The application or generalization of this learning within this model of training, however, is often weak. Thus, participants frequently report being better "diagnosticians" of the covert dynamics which impede their task performance, but just as frequently report difficulty in arriving at "solutions."

It is this aspect of the training program (i.e., focusing on group and organizational dynamics) that most trainees anticipate and highlight upon completing the workshops. In fact, CHUM is known

throughout New England public schools as a group training institute and is often asked to provide additional training along these lines. It is in this portion of the program that significant task and sentient boundaries are formed.

The remainder of the program is more formally didactic with lectures on pharmacology, social and cultural factors in drug abuse, racism, deviance theory and the like. These sessions are self-explanatory on the schedule; they are the source of specific information sought by trainees. Field visits also provide an understanding of the nature of current drug treatment programs and alternative educational settings such as free schools, teacher's center, and the like. In these events, the trainees have an opportunity for interaction with relevant others who are actively involved in the programs visited.

The days at CHUM are typically long, running from 9:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with three evenings per week scheduled for additional sessions requested by trainees. When a group such as the W schools attends, they commute instead of staying at the residential facilities. This adds two additional hours to the day so that on the average, trainees are together about eleven hours per day, for eleven days.

CHAPTER V

SYSTEM INTERACTION: IMPORT PROCESS

Introduction

At times it is convenient for descriptive purposes to differentiate the consulting process into stages such as initial contacts, point of entry, diagnosis, contract setting, selection procedures, interventions, outcome, evaluation and follow-up (to cite a few). Such distinctions, however, may establish a simplistic understanding of the process without recognizing the complex interplay of these activities upon each other both past and future. At times, this study will make such distinctions for clarity, but we shall be aware of the arbitrariness of such divisions.

Thus, considerable diagnostic material is generated during activities such as contract negotiations, selection procedures and even during the implementation of agreed upon interventions. The organization of this chapter, then, divides the interaction between the Windyville Training team and CHUM into sections that span early contacts originally having nothing to do with the training, through the actual interventions, to follow-up work. For our purposes, we shall focus primarily on boundary-related events. The early phases represent an import process to the training center (export, for the school system). This process involves many boundary events which shall be discussed.

History

Before contacting CHUM, an Eastern University faculty member from another department had been working with this client system. He had conducted a survey of drug abuse and attitudes towards drugs in the high school and two junior high schools. A report (cf. Appendix B) had been written recommending, among other items, a training course for school personnel such as that offered at CHUM. The report was delivered to the school board, the superintendent's office and finally to the schools involved. Reactions to its findings were mixed, ranging from admiration for its thoroughness to disdain at its naive acceptance of responses. Several parents were alarmed both prior to the findings and afterwards that their children might be identified with "drugs." The decision to come to CHUM, however, was based primarily on the report although several members of the client system had consulted other, former clients of CHUM to informally establish credibility based on the others' experiences with this institute.

The Eastern University faculty member remained a consultant for the W school system central office. He provided a liaison between the school system and CHUM by assisting in negotiations around time, numbers, selection for training and by editing research forms to be used in the overall evaluation. He also came to some key sessions during the training and to one follow-up meeting. Thus, this consultant provided some continuity over time for the system interaction. In other words, he assisted in managing the boundaries between W and CHUM.

Initial Meeting: External Boundary Interaction

Approximately six months prior to the training, there was an initial meeting of CHUM and W school system representatives at the training site. Present were the superintendent of schools, the assistant superintendent, the director of primary and secondary education, the principals of the two junior high schools, and of the high school, Eastern University consultant to W, the coordinator of training at CHUM, the coordinator of research and evaluation and this author. The task of this meeting was to negotiate numbers and times for the teams of trainees from this town to come to CHUM. The plan arrived at then was for three waves of trainees to come to the institute throughout the academic year. Some tension arose around two issues: (1) the client system wanted everyone to come at one time which seemed impossible for CHUM to do; and (2) the clients wanted fewer students and more faculty to be trained. Negotiations were begun around these issues, with CHUM taking a firm stance for 40% student representation. Final decisions were deferred for the consultant to establish with CHUM.

The tone of this initial meeting was politely tense; somehow an air of mistrust prevailed. It is difficult to locate the seat of this mistrust. Certainly one major source can be understood from our knowledge about intergroup negotiations. That is, whenever two organizations engage in representative negotiations, there is an air of mistrust (cf. Bridger and Higgins, Miller and Rice). In this instance, mutual expectations were a source of this mistrust. That is, as was stated in Chapter III and IV, CHUM had preconceived notions of W (i.e., public

school systems) and of these representatives per se as being authoritarian, rigid, naive about humanistic education, and so on. Conversely, the W representatives had established stereotypes of CHUM and its representatives as elite, intellectual, liberal, etc. Both had expectations, then, that provided a hidden agenda to this meeting which was intermeshed with the actual work. What seemed to characterize this meeting was the issue of control or dominance. The client system had its needs and demands, CHUM was struggling to assert its newly established guidelines. Neither seemed to understand the authority and representation of the other. In fact, after this meeting, the senior CHUM person present was unable to cite either the roles or the names of most of the clients; the same was true for the clients when they were asked the same information about CHUM staff they met.

Significantly, students were absent from these early meetings. There was no overt decision made by CHUM to approach such interventions in a top-down manner; i.e., the institute had neither a policy or any understanding about who was engaged in early negotiations and what this meant in terms of the nature of the intervention. Nonetheless, by necessity and function, this method of approaching systems had been adopted. On the other hand, it was clear that the client system was accustomed to negotiating in this fashion; students are niggers (Farber, 1970) in their own schools; they are not typically trusted to capably perform such tasks. It is this sort of pervasive attitude that CHUM attempts to explore and help change.

There was also a clash in styles. That is, CHUM was operating

at best, on an emerging style of systems consultation. Roles were not yet clear in negotiations, intra-staff functioning or training. Thus, at this meeting the research team performed most of the tasks of the coordinator of training (partly because they were clearer than he about such matters, partly because of other incompetencies in the coordinator of training). The clients, however, having spent years in a highly organized bureaucracy presented a much more orderly but rigid initial appearance. The contrast with the "looseness" of the CHUM team promoted a poor mixture of working styles. This most likely contributed to the confusion and mistrust established in the first meeting.

Other significant issues are raised by this initial contact. Perhaps the most striking is the question of authority and representation for both systems. It is the responsibility of top-level management in an organization to maintain external boundary relations. According to the organizational chart of the client system (see Figure 1), such top level personnel were present at the meeting with the exception of the Director of Pupil Personnel Services and Special Education. From the description of the tasks of this position, one would expect this Director to have been present since it would be within his purview that "drug education" would most likely fit. Instead, the Director of Elementary and Secondary Education was the man involved both in this meeting and in previous contacts through the EU consultant. Even more noteworthy, though, is the delegation of much of this boundary management to the EU consultant (see Chapters VII and VIII).

Another significant absence was that of a representative of the

Board of Education. At the time, the Superintendent expressed a desire for such a representative and hoped to enlist at least one member of this citizen board to attend the two-week workshop. He was, however, pessimistic about the prospect. As it turned out, the wife of one board member attended the training cycle.

There were no women from W present at this meeting. In fact, there are no women in positions of power and/or authority anywhere throughout the school system. In a high school setting where 44% (38 of 87 teachers and counselors) are women, it is more significant that there are no women administrators, department chairmen or central office representatives. The absence of women in such positions must be more than coincidence, lack of qualified personnel, or some other single answer. It most likely is a statement about sexist attitudes and policies in the client system. Not only does such a situation create covert dynamics for the women faculty, it must also portray something to students, especially females. This bias becomes important when the training is headed by, and includes, women staff.

Contract Setting: Task Boundaries

Once initial contacts have been made, systems interacting begin to negotiate a contract for further work. Often, ambiguities in the contract appear later in the consultations as problematic areas. For example, unless issues of who, when, where and what type of training are clearly agreed, inappropriate delivery of services can occur. Moreover, the clarity and carefulness of a contract and of the process of negotiating establish a set that determines later contacts. Thus,

a loose, incomplete or asymmetrically arrived at contract establishes a different set of expectations than one that is explicit, exhaustive and arrived at by mutual negotiations. Further, the process of negotiating and agreement lends further diagnostic information for future interventions.

In this instance, two contracts were needed: one for training and follow-up; another for the evaluation. CHUM, because of its changing, eclectic and emergent style, had never been clear about contract setting for either realm. Training agreements were often made by individuals applying, agreeing to come and receiving a letter of acceptance specifying time and place of training. Specific content was never provided before trainees arrived in East Town. With W, CHUM continued its ambiguous and non-mutual style. The Eastern University consultant, however, was more rigorous and therefore established an agreement between CHUM and the W central office that included:

- 1) Time, place, numbers, roles for training;
- 2) Initial meetings before training to orient the clients and future trainees;
- 3) Provisions for additional follow-up after training;
- 4) Request for specific clarification of evaluation efforts to be negotiated through the central offices and him.

The research contract was negotiated between the Director of Primary and Secondary Education, and the coordinator of CHUM evaluation and this author. The W representative, in the end, delegated screening of research instruments to the EU consultant. The research contract letters are in Appendix C. If these seem incomplete, suffice it to say that more details and precautions are embodied here than in the training contracts.

Selection Procedures: Organizational Diagnosis

Who gets chosen, for what reasons and motivation, to go to a special event such as a two week training cycle is a complex situation and often diagnostic of the intervention to follow or of the systems involved. In this regard, it is useful in a number of ways for the consultants to be involved in such procedures. If they cannot consult with the clients on the methods employed, (e.g., if time, pressure or location does not allow for this), the service agency ought at least to be aware of how this is accomplished for further diagnostic data.

The only input CHUM had in this regard was an insistence on 40% student participants, some town representation and a few administrators (the number or percentages of the latter were not specified). How, when and by whom the selection was conducted was not only left to the clients but was never reviewed by CHUM staff. This omission was in part due to a lack of appreciation of the importance of such involvement, and in part due to limited resources of time and staff to participate. By not doing this work, however, CHUM indirectly colluded with W to conduct the selection process in several unsatisfactory ways as noted.

As it occurred in this case study, the Director of Elementary and Secondary Education distributed questionnaires to students and faculty of the high school and the two feeder junior highs which solicited nominations for the training. The forms for the high school are found in Appendix C.

On first inspection, this appears to be a democratic process of selection. This impression, however, quickly disappears as follows: first

there is an outright misrepresentation of the training event for which assistance is being solicited. That is, the request is for volunteers and nominations for a "...two week leadership training conference at Eastern University..." There is no mention of CHUM or any relationship to the drug program in the school. Part of the illusion created is that CHUM enjoyed a reputation in the client community as a center for group and leadership training based on the emphasis of this material in former training cycles. To represent the entire two weeks as "leadership training," however, is to mislead the membership being sought. This might well have been done to somehow avoid the heavily value laden area of "drugs" which had promoted such disruption from the survey conducted in the previous semester. Partly, it might have been done to solicit the aid of those who might not have been as enthusiastic if they understood the training to focus around drugs. (This is assuming that leadership training is more attractive than drug work.)

This latter motivation, namely making the experience more attractive to volunteers, seems to also account for the emphasis on naming the prestigious university with which the training institute is affiliated. That is, by naming the university and not the specific unit involved, it may well be that there would be greater motivation for enlisting.

No matter what the motivation was, it is extremely significant that such a blatant misrepresentation would occur. This event might well be used in diagnosing the client system; many inferences can be made. One such observation is the concern this school system shows for "appearances." It was suggested that part of why there was so much distress about the

original drug report was that it concretized a denied drug problem which was not only threatening, but also somehow embarrassing to the parents in the community.

We might also understand the facile agreement to have a board of education member present at the training and then not coming through with one, as again an effort to "look good," to be cooperative with the perceived authorities. In addition, we might understand the willingness for participating in our research efforts as presenting an image of cooperation and genuine interest and devotion to the training but only for the purposes of image building and not genuine devotion as later evidence suggests. This is, then, clinical data for the social systems analyst to utilize in his diagnosis. This is another instance where alternative explanations apply.

Role Boundaries

Still other aspects of this selection process are instrumental in planned social change. When attempting to do organizational development or systems analysis, it is critical to include members from significant portions of the organization. Which sectors are significant depends on what theoretical model one employs. Beyond this, however, is a further refinement: namely, what personality types within organizational roles are to be represented in the process.¹² In this study, it was never made clear by CHUM who was to attend (except as outlined above) and what type

¹²Levinson (1959) makes a distinction between personality, role, and organizational requirements which illuminates the complexity of these factors in role performance.

of person within that role. That is, would it be more advantageous to solicit student leaders or students who themselves were disenchanted with school or into drugs? Did it make sense to train teachers who already held the confidence of their students or would it be more powerful to provide direct manipulation to those who were oppressive, etc.? These considerations were not articulated. They were, instead, left to the client system to determine. This is still grist for the diagnostic mill as long as this information is noted by the consultants. In this case it was not; partly because of a lack of appreciation of such data; partly because of the tremendous press of various tasks undertaken by the consulting team.

What does emerge, however, is some additional information about this client system. As was noted in an earlier part of this chapter, the selection process clearly outlines a sexist bias in this system.

Further, the misrepresentation noted above highlights the institutional transference to the major university affiliation. This imparts a willingness to engage in the asymmetrical consultant-client-relationship. That is, by underscoring the university participation there is a hidden message that this is the superior seat of learning and thus implies an inferior or one-down position of the client system. This asymmetry, however, is not unique to this study. This stance has significant implications for the stance the trainees take upon their arrival at the training setting in terms of dependency, submission to authority and so on. Alderfer's (op. cit.) suggestion of a team of insiders and outsiders is one way of precluding some of this process. We will discuss this

problem further in Chapter VIII.

Clearly, the clients opted for sending their already skilled staff and students for training. The implications of this are many. Overtly, it might be an effort to put their best foot forward and offer competent people to become even more skilled and then provide better services. Or, it might connote a more machiavellian motive to isolate those who others see as "different" or "student oriented" or "radicalibs" or whatever by sending them to an event that will give them a clearer identity for others.

Issues of role definition and authority are also operative in this process. Thus, of what significance is it that the central office decides the type of personnel to attend? Further, what does it mean that the principals of the three schools are asked to attend and thus the department chairmen must be excluded (some of whom received the highest nominations)? If one is to approach such consultation from a truly holistic approach, then one must ask questions of this order to understand the systemic issues which appear throughout the various levels of operation. Thus, if one is concerned about the lack of autonomy and little sense of responsibility and participation in students, then one might need to explore how this is established at various levels throughout the organization.

We see, then, that the selection process provides information about role relations, authority relations, organizational boundaries, representation and even peer relations. As such, it lends further diagnostic material about both the structure and process of the client system.

Delegate Characteristics

Those chosen to attend the two week training (i.e., W delegates) come from the entire school system as well as other aspects of municipal life in W (e.g., two policemen, a town council member). For the purpose of this study, however, only the twenty-seven high school delegates were researched in-depth. (Occasionally, data from all forty-nine W people will be presented.) Thus, the high school training group (TG) includes the principal, ten students, fifteen teachers and one guidance counselor.

Although three department chairmen were nominated by both students and teachers to attend the training, it was decided by the principal, in conjunction with the superintendent's office, that department chairmen would not attend if the principal attended. Since the JHS's were sending their principals, the high school decided to do the same.¹³

Similarly, three other teachers, whose nominations were higher in rank than any of the teachers who actually attended, refused to attend the workshop for assorted reasons both personal and professional. Seven others who, according to their ranking and nominations, were eligible to attend, also chose not to do so. This group forms one of the two comparison groups within the HS (as outlined in Chapter II). The other comparison groups include two other categories: those who were not nominated to go, but who expressed a desire to do so; those who were neither

¹³ During the following year, W sent another, smaller group for additional training. This group contained the department chairmen from the HS.

nominated nor volunteered. Significant differences between these groups are as follows:

Based on data from the questionnaires administered as presented in Table 1, the TG is younger, has spent less time teaching at WHS, have career goals which mainly include remaining as a teacher or becoming a guidance counselor, are likely to perceive a greater incidence of drug abuse and ascribe this more to psychological problems than any other single factor. Further, they seem to be mildly more alienated and/or critical of WHS in that they feel less involved in decision making around educational policies and see relations between teachers and students, teachers and teachers, and parents and the school as less good than the other groups.

Table 2 and Figure 1 summarize the CES data based on twenty classrooms: five taught by TG teachers, five by each of the above comparison categories. These findings are consistent with the questionnaire data in that they also suggest teachers who are significantly different in their teaching styles. Thus, the TG are found to see themselves as creating a classroom environment where there is more involvement, affiliation*, teacher supportiveness and innovation, less task orientation, competition, order-organization, clarity of rules* and control by teachers* than the NTG's perceive in their teaching styles. Students, for the most part, corroborate these impressions of the teaching differences (cf. Figure 2). In sum, the TG teachers are generally more psychologically minded, more critical of their school, more alienated and more student oriented than the other groups. This suggests that these teachers may, in fact, have had some

*Statistically significant.

TABLE 5.1

TG VS. NTG TEACHERS DIFFERENCES ON QUESTIONNAIRE
 DATA: (1) DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION, (2) WHS PERCEPTIONS

<u>Variable</u>	<u>TG</u> <u>$\bar{x}$</u>	<u>NTG 1, 2 & 3</u> <u>$\bar{x}$</u>	<u>p*</u>
<u>Demographic Information</u>			
Age (in years)	33	38	.07
Number of years at WHS	3	6	.07
<u>Career Goals</u>	<u>Percentage**</u>	<u>Percentage**</u>	
Remain teacher	56	64	.08
Chairman, administration	0	9	.08
Out school administration	6	27	.03
Guidance	19	0	.04
Other	13	0	--
Blank	6	24	--
<u>WHS Perceptions</u>			
Informed after fact on education policy	54	25	.05
Union Affiliation***	56	42	.08

* Two tailed t-tests were performed

** Percentages do not add to 100% because of multiple choice options and blanks

*** Of significance here is that 10% of TG left this blank, whereas 40% of NTG refused to answer. Affiliation, therefore, cannot be satisfactorily compared this way.

TABLE 5.2
PRE-TEST CES

<u>Group</u>	<u>Subscale</u>								
	<u>Involvement</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Teacher Supportiveness</u>	<u>Task Orientation</u>	<u>Competition</u>	<u>Order Organization</u>	<u>Role Clarity</u>	<u>Teacher Control</u>	<u>Innovation</u>
<u>Students</u>									
TG	5.9	7.0	7.9	5.9	5.7	5.7	6.0	2.7	6.3
NTG 1	5.2	5.8	6.7	6.0	5.2	5.0	6.5	4.3	4.1
NTG 2 & 3	3.7	5.9	4.9	7.4	6.0	6.3	6.4	4.1	2.9
F-test	2.8	2.3	9.1	1.8	1.3	1.1	0.3	1.9	5.4
p	.09	.13	.003	.20	.30	.37	>.5	.18	.02
<u>Teachers</u>									
TG	9.2	9.0	9.2	5.7	4.8	4.9	5.2	1.5	6.2
NTG 1	7.0	5.9	7.4	7.4	6.0	6.5	8.4	4.6	3.7
NTG 2 & 3	6.4	8.0	7.9	8.1	6.3	7.4	8.7	3.6	5.0
F-test	3.2	3.8	1.8	2.2	1.1	1.5	11.0	4.0	1.1
p	.07	.04	.20	.14	.37	.25	<.001	.04	.36

Note. F-tests reported are among groups. No within groups differences were significant.

FIGURE 5.1

CES PRE-TEST GROUP $\bar{X}$ SCORES (TEACHERS)
P-LEVELS (AMONG GROUPS)

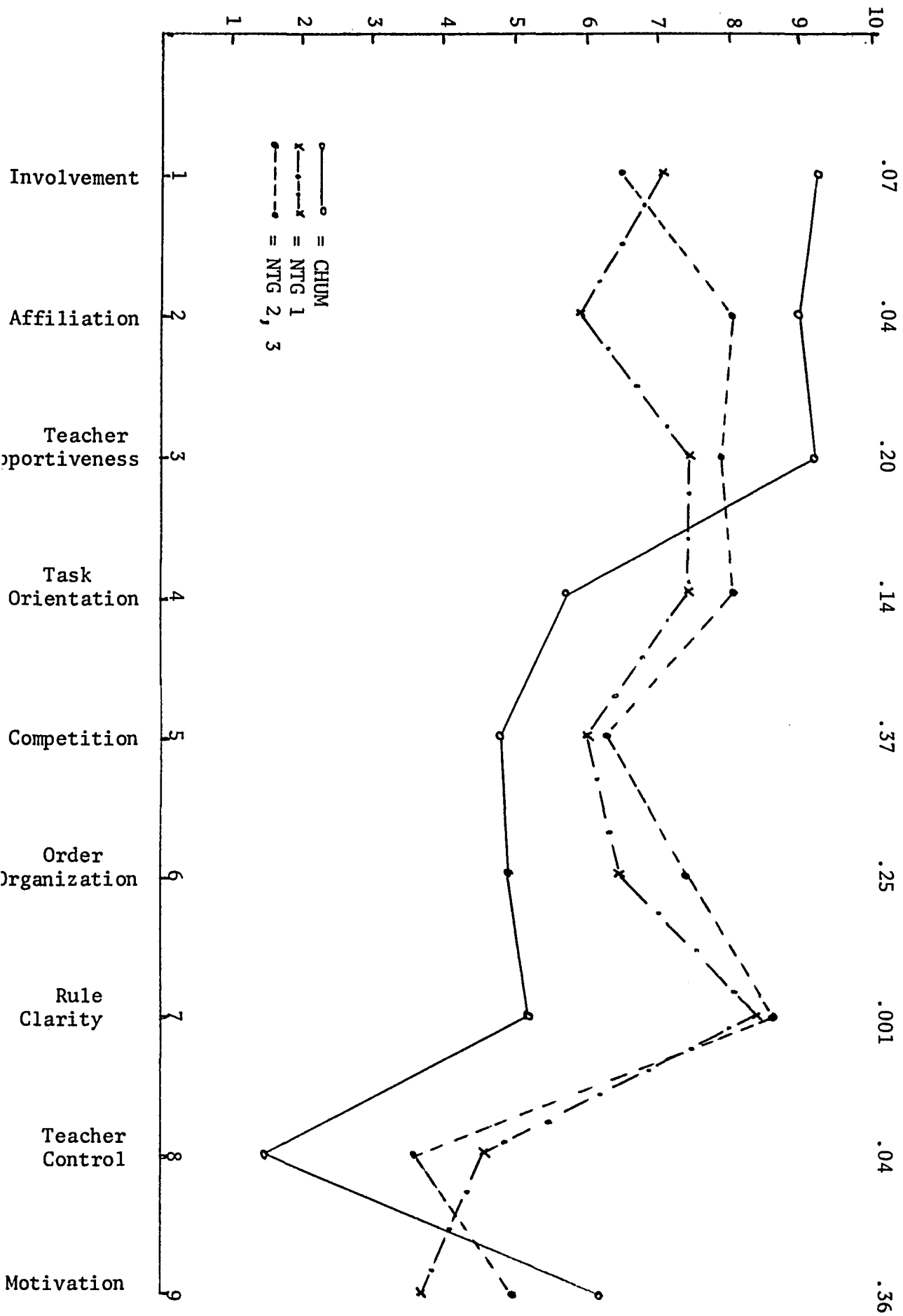
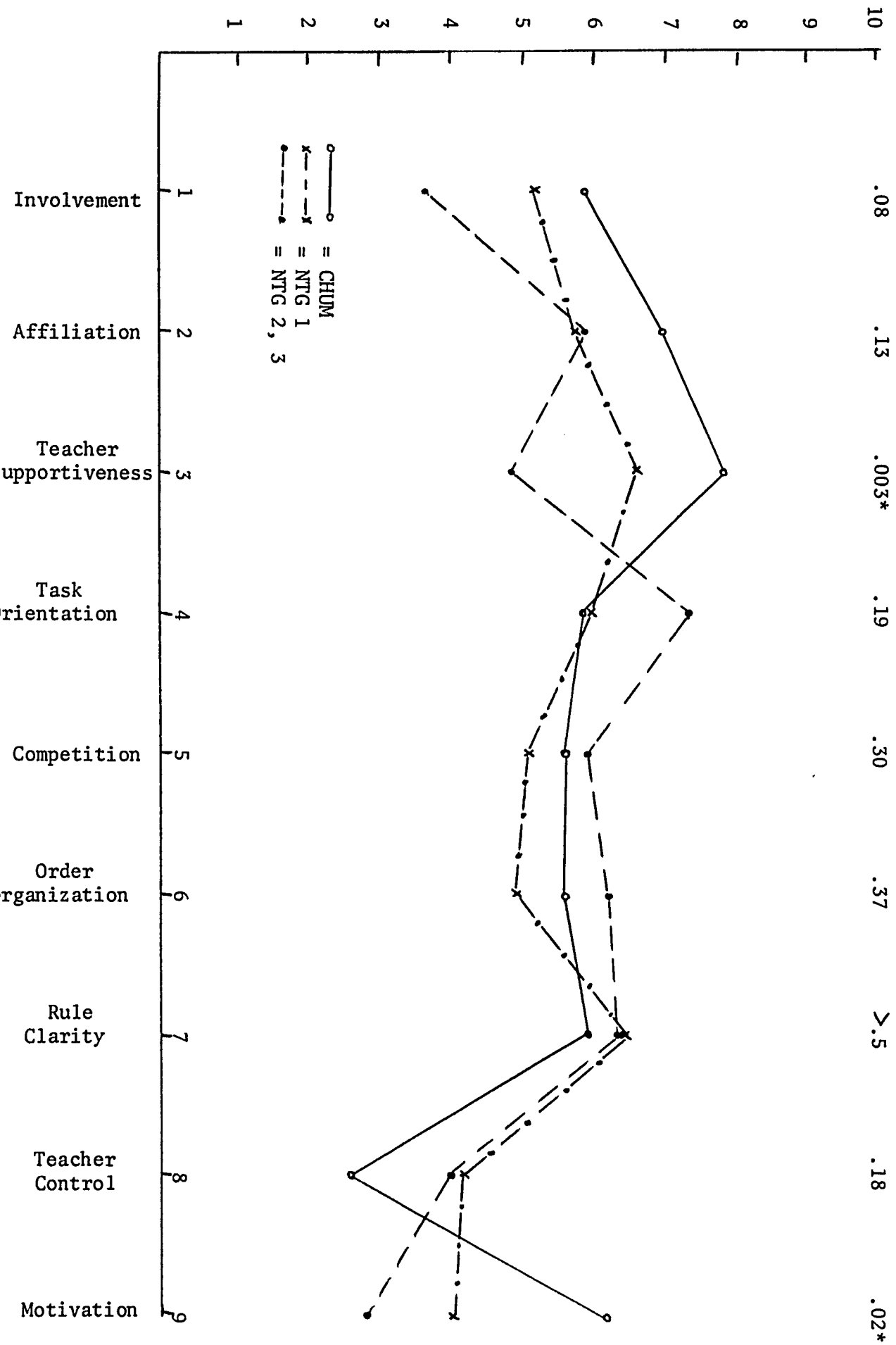


FIGURE 5.2

CES PRE-TEST GROUP $\bar{X}$ SCORES (STUDENTS)
P-LEVELS (AMONG GROUPS)



sentient ties to each other prior to the training. If this sentient boundary did exist, however, it was covert in the sense that these people did not necessarily spend much time together nor did they see themselves as aligned in any significant ways. The selection process, however, by more clearly identifying this group, reinforced whatever sentient ties existed, especially in the eyes of others at WHS.

Myths as Boundaries: Sentient Boundaries

Much like the development of an infant, a small group includes interactions with other groups in its boundary development. As Freud (1927) observed "...the ego is first and foremost a body ego" referring to the process of affirming body boundaries as a first affirmation of the self in the infant. So too do groups interact with other groups and in so doing affirm their boundaries, sometimes establishing boundary characteristics for the first time as a result of the exigencies aroused by these interactions. Clearly, these external pressures are not the only factors in such development; internal pressures, too, operate. It is for the regulation of both sets of forces that boundary development and maintenance are so important.

The first step in the formation of the TG group identity¹⁴ was their simply having been identified as "the CHUM people" shortly after the selection process described earlier. Myths began to emerge as to how this group was different from other factions within the high school. It is

¹⁴It shall be assumed throughout that boundary development and maintenance are integrally related to group identity as they are in individual psychology for the "person system."

significant to note that we are describing a group of people selected by peers who, until this point, have shared no separately common function or role within the school.

To those within the selected group (TG) they appeared to each other as a random selection of those teachers within the school who were interested in reaching out to students a bit more. That they were the more "dedicated" faculty and were willing to take on some additional responsibilities to continue being available to students. Four of the six faculty who volunteered to go to CHUM but who were not selected (Group II) who were interviewed believed that the TG group was primarily interested in going to East Town to have a good time and to get away from the daily hassles of teaching. Of those interviewed who neither volunteered nor were selected (NTG 3), each believed that these teachers were significantly younger and more "radicalib" than the "typical" WHS teacher. That the TG was going to learn how to be "changers" and thus that they were more interested in "changing things for the sake of change" than in systematically approaching problems was also a stereotype propoorted by this faction. Those who either could not or would not volunteer but were nominated (NTG 2) mostly believed that the TG were "the wrong people being trained." They held that the TG were already in touch with the students and thus did not need training. Instead, they felt that those who were down on students or irrationally alarmed by "drugs" should be identified and "educated" at CHUM.

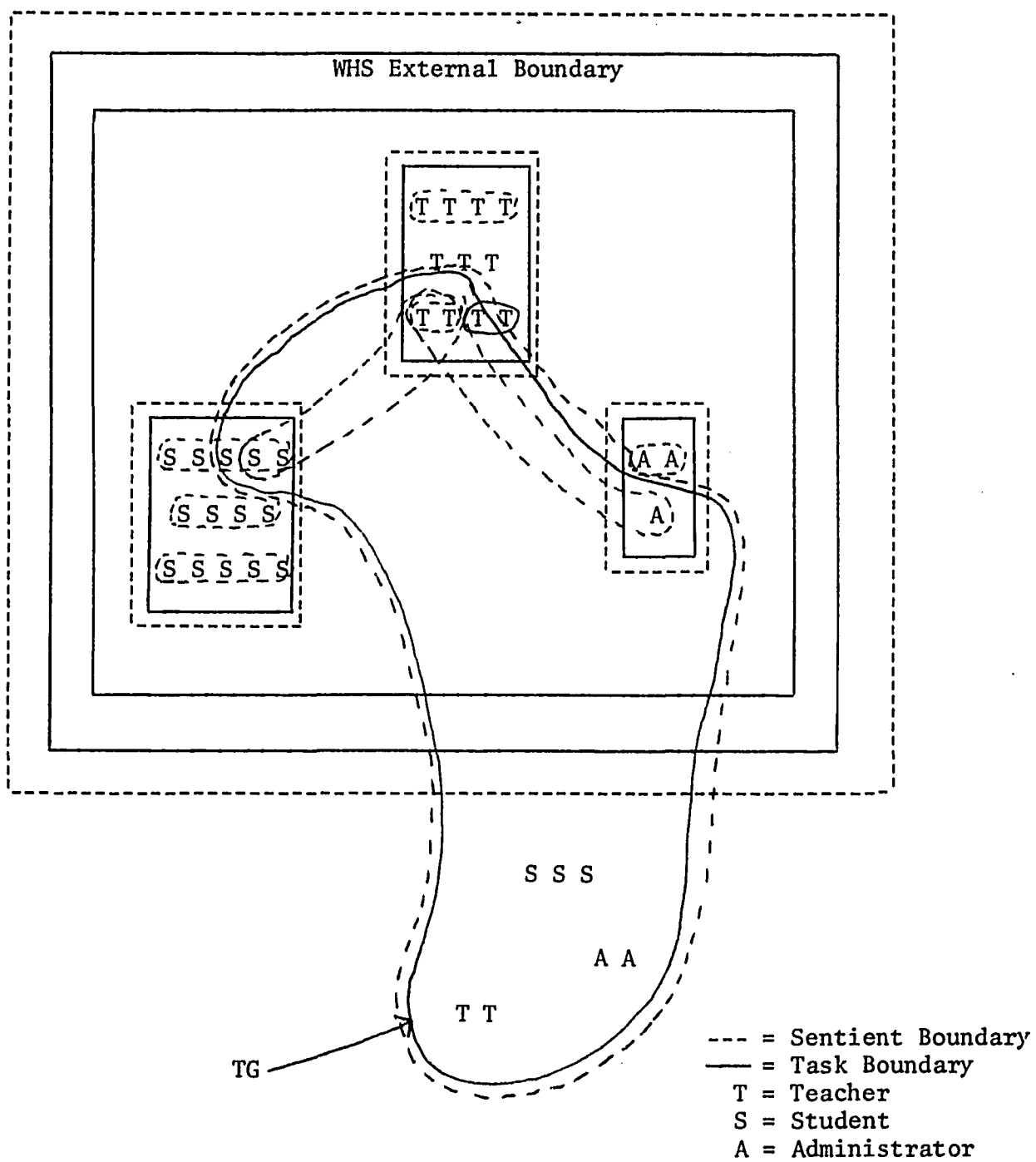
Such descriptions could continue; what they all have in common is the recognition of an identifiable group about whom different opinions

and myths were already forming. We can understand this process as an early stage of group identity such that at least the contextual system has begun to identify the TG and establish boundaries around it by naming and mythifying it.

Further development of identifying boundaries comes with the TG leaving the home setting for two weeks. Their actual absence from the everyday functioning of the high school allows for additional real and fantasied descriptions. For those remaining at the school, the TG were believed to be experiencing a wide range of activities from "having a ball down in East Town" to "working absurdly long, hard hours," with lots of variations in between. There seems to be no consistent pattern to the responses of those remaining, except that those with higher status (e.g., the vice-principal, department chairmen) seem to be more understanding and sympathetic with the work load of the TG. This finding, however, does not hold for all individuals at this level.

This early boundary formation is taking place within a context that has already established several formal and informal structures. There are existing boundaries between teachers and students, teachers and administrators, students and administrators, between departments and so on. These are some of the internal task boundaries within the HS. There are also many sentient boundaries among and within each of these sectors. The formation of a new group, then involves some re-structuring and re-channeling of energy. Figure 3 schematically presents this process. As we can see, the new TG represents a crossing of both task and sentient

FIGURE 5.3
INTERSECTION OF EXISTING INTERNAL WHS
BOUNDARIES WITH NEW TG



boundaries. The diagram suggests that both task and sentient boundaries coincide in the TG. This may be the case, but it is done here for graphic purposes only.

The TG mirrors the total system. That is, within the TG there are many role boundaries: students/teachers, teachers/administrators, administrators/students, and of course, individual differences within each role. Of particular importance to this group is that there is only one administrator, the principal. Since managing all the differences within this group will involve leadership, we might expect that the group will turn to their natural leader. Moreover, this group will have to cross organizational boundaries: CHUM, relations with the JHS groups, with central administration, and so on. This too calls for leadership and again we might anticipate some special role for the principal since this type of leadership is his normal role.

CHAPTER VI

SYSTEM INTERACTION: CONVERSION

Introduction

Once having been selected and thus having formed the rudimentary identity described in the preceding chapter, the TG next encounters the training event. Here, the transition is cultural. That is, the TG crosses the boundary of the high school and enters CHUM. In so doing, it leaves a social system where roles, activities, relationships, and so on, are familiar, established and essentially safe. It now goes to a new culture that is unknown and only described by expectations where staff is expected to be much like the stereotype outlined in Chapter IV; i.e., to a culture anticipated to be different than back-home in content, behavioral norms, and so on. Thus, the transition is from a highly structured, tightly bounded situation, to one that is anticipated to be loose and unfamiliar. There is, then, a dissolution of existing boundaries which describe positions and relationships and a culture that will prescribe new role definitions and relationships.

This chapter will only briefly describe the conversion phase and will primarily focus on boundary events. Most of the specifics of the training will not be discussed nor will there be a full description of the process during the workshop except where it is relevant to our understanding of the boundary phenomena. There is considerable literature on both this form of training (cf. Tucker, 1973; Kinsella, 1972), and

on learning laboratories (cf. Schein and Bennis, 1965; Bradford, Gibbe and Beene, 1964; and others), and on other related forms of group relations training (cf. Rice, 1968; Rioch, 1972).

Intergroup Dynamics

It is helpful for us to understand, at this point, that the TG was part of a larger group involved in the W intervention. Thus, we may be able to learn about the functioning of the TG by reviewing some of the intergroup dynamics among the various sectors involved during the training. (We will also consider some of these in reviewing the work attempted back in W).

First, the twenty-seven delegates from the high school represent more than half of the total group of trainees from W. Thus, the internal functioning of this group is more complex than the other, smaller sectors. The dynamics of a small group of about twelve or less are different than one with twenty or more members. In the latter, it is easier for members to experience many of the dynamics we associate with large groups. These include loss of identity (Turquet, 1969), heightened fantasies of chaos, violence, and other primitive fantasies associated with feelings of being in a mob that is both alienating and, at the same time, compelling and beyond the control of any given individual. It is difficult for a member of a large group to maintain a sense of individual responsibility for what occurs.

There are two large groups within this population: the total group of trainees and the high school TG. One way that such groups frequently deal with the overwhelmingness of the large group is to divide into

smaller sectors. Often this is done on non-rational bases where the intent is given some rationale, but the effect is to escape the large group. In this situation, there were "natural" organizational boundaries that fostered the group division. Namely, the three schools. Trainees decided to divide this way based on the notion that they would be working in the different schools when they returned home and therefore needed to work together during the two weeks to both establish consensual goals and to do team building (i.e., to work on intra-group issues of leadership, followership, competition, and so on). The CHUM staff reinforced this decision without anticipating the following consequences and once more inadvertently colluded in acting out covert processes.

This division resulted in the high school TG having twenty-seven members.¹⁵ Thus, while the junior highs no longer had to cope with a large group situation, except in community meetings where there was a structure established for coping with the large numbers (the "fishbowl" cf. Chapter IV), the high school TG was still faced with this problem.

Within the high school TG, then, were large group dynamics, members with different status, different roles, plus the other differences and covert and overt dynamics in the other groups. There were, as we can see, intergroup issues both within the HSTG and between it and the other

¹⁵Those belonging to none of the three schools directly, e.g., the police, assistant superintendent, town councilman, housewife, joined one of the two junior high school groups rather than additionally burdening the high school with more members.

groups. The task of establishing and maintaining task boundaries in such a situation is markedly more difficult than in a small group where there are fewer of these internal dynamics.

It was possible for the other groups to capitalize on this arrangement. One way that this was evidenced was that the other groups localized much of the difficulty in functioning and in task development in the high school group. A myth emerged that because of their size and because of the complexity of its membership, the HSTG was floundering and unable to work while the other groups were functioning effectively. The CHUM staff, yet another group in this complex intergroup situation, colluded in maintaining this myth. They became concerned about the total HSTG and offered more staff participation to this than to other groups. They also became "concerned" about the mental health of one of the members in the HSTG who isolated himself and would not participate in some of the group activities. He had established himself as the voice of discontent and anger and was embodying this for many others. Directly and indirectly the CHUM staff reinforced his position by selectively attending to him, directing attention to his reluctance to participate, and so on.

We can understand some of these phenomena as elements of an intergroup situation. That is, it is not uncommon in such events that groups split portions of their affect and experience and then relegate portions to various sectors. Thus, much like an individual might split off good and bad objects and localize all the good in one significant other and all the bad in other (M. Klein, 1948), so too do groups. Were there some observing role within this situation, this process might have been

interpreted. This would normally be the role of the staff in such a training workshop. Unfortunately, given the dynamics within the CHUM staff at this time (cf. Chapter IV) and also given the emphasis on interpersonal dynamics, rather than group level analyses, they were unable to assume this perspective. The intent of such an interpretation of this process would be to make the covert dynamic of splitting (both intergroup and onto a single member) overt and to facilitate all groups' having to struggle with the issues that were within each.

The relegation of all difficulty to the HSTG was furthered by the internal intergroup of this unit. As we can see, the HSTG embodied three distinct role-bounded segments: administrator, students and teachers. While the other groups also incorporated different role segments, the major differences were in age and status. That is, there is a greater gap between students and teachers, than there is between teachers and administrators or between teachers and other adult segments. By dividing as they did, the two other groups were able to behave as if they did not have to deal with this boundary relationship (back home) and as if only the HSTG faced such a task. Later in the training, some students were involved in a few junior high school meetings to present student viewpoints, but this was experienced as temporary and limited in scope. Within the HSTG, however, students were more integral and thus more actively involved in the ongoing functioning.

We might also remember that the report of the drug abuse survey stated that drug abuse is more prevalent among high school students and that efforts should be made to direct programs at ninth graders which is

a turning point in an adolescent's drug abuse career. This might contribute to the myth that the HSTG embodied all the difficulty in that there is a note of optimism about the JHS's and one of acceptance of an unsatisfactory situation in the high school.

There are, clearly, many issues confronting all the trainee groups. Perhaps the most overwhelming initial process the entire population had to manage was the cultural clash between the CHUM staff and the overall training group. The CHUM staff was led by a woman; there were blacks on staff; none wore jackets and ties or office dresses; they called everyone by first names; they talked about groups and feelings and change and dope; they used phrases like "get a handle on" or "fishbowl" or "I hear you, but...", and they were young. In contrast, the trainees came dressed for formal business; were all white; people in authority were older men; adults were addressed as Mr., Mrs., or Miss; students were addressed by first names; and, they were unfamiliar to the CHUM idioms and affective expression. By leaving the organizational setting back home, role boundaries were already blurred. System boundaries help define role boundaries. Thus: how was an assistant superintendent of schools to deal with a situation in which students were to call him by first name? Further, how was he to deal with a young black woman in authority? What was appropriate for him to say about his "feelings" about students, teachers, other administrators, when he was going to go back to his more familiar role in the future? Where was the precedent?

Within two days, all the trainees were wearing casual clothing, calling each other by first names, crying and laughing together, sitting

on the floor, using those unfamiliar idioms and talking about "process" and "change." This shift in role boundaries reflected the beginnings of team building and the beginning of a heightened sentient group. Now came the work of learning and establishing future tasks to bring back to W.

Task vs. Sentient Boundaries

Table 1 is a frequency distribution of trainee response to three open-ended questions about their expectations for the workshop. The goals and expectations tabled are codifications of the raw data. In every category, however, the response included the exact words that make up the response category. As we can see, the goals and expectations are sufficiently vague and global to allow for just about any type of experience. Thus, part of the task of the training was to make these goals more articulate and operational. This was part of the responsibility of the CHUM staff and partly a leadership task for the trainees. Further, we can understand the wish for better communication skills, group techniques, understandings of self and others as forming a cluster of goals dealing with boundary transactions. That is, referring back to Chapters I and III, we can understand problems in communications and related problems, as partly being related to the nature of boundary management and placement.

The training group is the first step towards changing the placement and management of task, sentient and organizational boundaries. As we saw above, roles were being redefined both by the individuals within the positions and by the new culture. Internal organizational boundaries

TABLE 6.1

RESPONSES OF 49 TRAINEES TO PRE-TRAINING
QUESTIONS ABOUT EXPECTATIONS

1. What are your goals in coming to CHUM?

Communications	22
Help and understand others	36
Help and learn about myself	18
Learn about drugs	24
Fight the drug problem	13
Learn how to be a leader	5
Have fun	3
Learn to be a change agent	1

2. What do you plan to do when you return to W?

Share experience with others in W ("Spread the word")	18
Set up program or be referral source	24
Communicate	12
Run groups	6
Serve the community	6
Don't know	6

such as department, administration, and so on, were giving way to new boundaries such as the HSTG, the JHSTG's and so on. Even the role boundary of teacher-student was subject to change, in part, since all the trainees were now "students" at CHUM and the staff were the "faculty." Task boundaries changed from teaching students to at times learning from students about what needed to be done. Sentient boundaries such as colleagues of the same department who drink together after school, gave way to alliances with others based on events of the workshop.

The CHUM staff were likely to call this process "unfreezing." It was the phase trainees had to experience before they could "learn new ways" and then undergo the process of "refreezing." The looseness and au courant style of the CHUM staff began to be mirrored by the trainees in ways other than the above. They began to touch each other, plan meals together at restaurants they would not normally frequent; become more critical of traditional education, more critical of society, more accepting of drug users; started employing techniques such as the fishbowl in meetings planned on their own time.

Early in the second week a revolution took place. The trainees expressed discontent with the schedule for the remainder of their time. They resisted suggestions by the CHUM staff, became critical of some of them, made demands for sessions and events that had not been planned, some even skipped sessions they had not missed before. Such a revolution is not uncommon in these workshops; it represents the trainees reclaiming some of their autonomy and asserting themselves as a more independent group.

Of significance, however, is that as yet specific tasks for back-home work had not begun to emerge. The "togetherness" and cultural assimilation took precedence. Thus, there were now strong sentient boundaries within and among this group, but little in the way of task boundaries. The CHUM staff began to take some leadership around this shortcoming by focusing attention on the problem. The JHSTG's began to respond on the last two days and began to make plans for running "rap groups" at their schools. These were to be small discussion groups of teachers, students and parents with the intent of facilitating communication within and among these groups.

The HSTG, however, was not able to come up with as concrete a plan. In essence, they were engaged in such "rap groups" during the training. As a result they were struggling with the internal boundary issues. Initially, students were ignored while teachers began to explore new personal relationships with each other and the principal. Then students became more vocal and teachers began to listen to what was being said. Some teachers reported hearing students' demands for the first time and having learned from students about themselves. They still excluded the male teacher who was the lonely voice of anger and discontent. They spent several hours at different times attempting to include him but were unsuccessful. One might speculate whether or not this exclusion was desired since then the group could maintain a myth of "togetherness" with the voice of cynicism "outside."

In any event, it is questionable whether the HSTG became a clear task group or a sentient group. That is, the absence of task for this

group is noteworthy. Sentience seems to have been substituted for task in that by the end of the training the HSTG felt, as they stated, "close, together, sharing, open and concerned." The only agreed upon task they were to perform when they returned was to "share" their experience with others; "to spread the word." The content of what this would mean was lacking. They agreed that they would conduct an in-service training session with the others at the high school within two weeks of their return. The main goal of this meeting would be to share their experience and to gather additional suggestions from concerned others for how to proceed. (We will examine this event in the next chapter).

Termination

The following is the song sang by the group of forty-nine on the last day of their two-week training. It was sung in a total group (copies distributed) with guitar accompaniment and a decorated cake. This fete took place during time set aside for application groups -- i.e., that time when it was hoped that further work (initial work for some) would be done about problem identification and diagnostic work for back home application.

In East Town one bright morning
 Came our team of 49
 By that evening, there was chaos
 We were shot down all the time.

Sensitivity, hypertension, constipation all around
 From the fishbowl to the T-Group
 Work together, no way found.
 Beth, Jude, Sandy, Rose and Hanky
 CHUMers, they're true blue
 Facilitation, intervention
 Training interns, it's a zoo.

Some are red ones, some are blue ones
 Some you smoke and some you shoot
 Some get ripped off, some get burned off
 Some get turned on, that's a boot.

So we thank you for our breakdown
 Life was great, 'til we met you
 Homeward bound we face our duties
 What they are we ask of you.

F-R-I-E-N-D
 That's what you are to me.

The two most significant aspects of this gathering are: (1) that this took place at a time when focused work on task performance was to have occurred; and (2) the lines: "Homeward bound we face our duties/ What they are we ask of you." Both of these, as does the entire event, highlight the conflict of task and sentient boundary development for this group. That is, the termination is marked by a good, friendly feeling that is underscored by the party and by the presents given to the CHUM staff. These were cabinet handles which referred to the phrase "get a handle on..." used so often during the workshop. This pervasive feeling, however, was at the expense of taking an active stance in task performance. While there was some additional time after this party to continue working, only five JHS teachers met.

The songfest, then, graphically demonstrates several outcomes of the training workshop. First, a team building effect which, although it produced a cooperative group, sacrificed task for sentience. Second, a continued dependence of trainees on CHUM staff: "...what they are (our tasks), we ask of you." Further sentient ties with CHUM staff. Fourth, a reference to having learned some drug-related information, although

post-training information questionnaires suggest that this was not adequately achieved. Finally, some reference to anxiety about re-entry and work that lies ahead.

Table 2 summarizes trainee responses to post-workshop open-ended questions about what they had learned and what they expected to do upon their return to W. As we can see, these responses support the observations reported about the songfest. That is, these responses represent mostly ambiguous, global goals and accomplishments. The emphasis on communication (still not defined), learning about self and others, and on groups further supports our perception of increased sentience not complemented by formal task proposals.

TABLE 6.2

TRAINEE RESPONSES TO POST-TRAINING QUESTIONS

1. What have you learned during your two weeks at CHUM?

Drug information: treatment, pharmacology, epidemiology	13
Group skills, language and techniques	18
Insights into myself (roles, stereotypes, etc.)	21
Insights into other trainees	16
Change in values about drug use (social problems, etc.)	13
Institutional change	2
Leadership and followership	2
More about my own educational system	2

2. What changes would you like to accomplish when you return to W?

Better communication between teachers, students, administration, Board of Education, community	20
Increased authority at school for teachers and students in decision making; more equality	7
Change the educational structure (e.g., students on the Board of Education)	5
Involve the town in educational programs	3
Drug education program in school	2
Other (e.g., teach about pharmacology in class)	3

3. How do you think you will use your learning back-home?

Human relations training	4
Classroom application	4
Communications	6
Run groups	5
Crisis center	2

4. Are you more, same or less, pro change after this training?

More	15
Same	10
Less	0
More facilitating	3
More hopeful	5
More involved	2

Note: Numbers are reduced here because many trainees left shortly after the party. Frequency ranges differ in each category since trainees omitted many items or chose not to respond to questions 3 and 4.

CHAPTER VII

RE-ENTRY

Returning to the back-home setting involves crossing major system boundaries between CHUM and WHS. This time, however, the TG is more clearly separate and bounded from the other sectors in the school. Thus, again the shift is cultural: coming from the temporary institution of the training event and going back to the more permanent structure of the high school. We will draw our understanding of this process from several levels and sources of data. These include questionnaires, CES, reactions to the research, interviews, and observations of both the inter-group events within the high school itself and within the overall training group from all three schools. In this chapter we will begin to draw implications for theory and method; i.e., (1) data will be presented followed by (2) interpretations and (3) implications.

Attitudinal Changes

It is always a question for behavioral scientists as to whether or not any functional change occurs as a result of training workshops such as the one in this study. Many researchers report significant attitude changes (e.g., Bunker, 1965; Campbell, 1965) but little behavioral and/or structural outcome. For our purposes, however, this is not a question we are attempting to answer. Instead, we shall explore the process as it occurred and attempt to understand it in terms of systems thinking. Thus, outcomes or lack of outcomes are relevant but

not the major focus. Nonetheless, we can see from Table 1 that there are changes in attitude as reflected in Questionnaire responses after the training. Here only statistically significant findings are presented. Further, because of reduced response rates in all cells, but especially in the comparison groups, findings are only reported for the TG. We shall explore the significance of the response rate bias later in this chapter.

Observation: As we can see from Table 1, the TG teachers view the principal as "more likely to make major changes in policy" and as more "influential" in his strivings to do so.

Interpretation: We might understand this finding as a result of the training in that teachers were able to reduce some of their trans-ferential impressions of the principal by engaging in different boundary relationships with him. Moreover, during the course of training, the principal was free to take significant leadership around, and to express desires for, institutional change. That is, the principal was able to make a role shift; he was no longer the top administrator in this temporary system. Thus, he was freer to, within limits, be more of an equal to the others from the HS. He had more energy and time available for the interpersonal aspects of his working relationships than he did back home. His leadership in managing the chaos of the new culture was appreciated by the others. This leadership, however, established expectations which were disappointed when he resumed his original role upon returning to the HS.

Implications: Shifts in role boundaries and relationships allow

TABLE 7.1
STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT QUESTIONNAIRE CHANGES
FOR HSTG - TEACHERS ONLY

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>$\bar{X}$ Score Pre-Test</u>	<u>$\bar{X}$ Score Post-Test</u>	<u>p*</u>
SSS (5) 1=Principal will probably instrumental in major policy changes.	Tea.	1.8	1.0	.006
3=He will not make major policy changes.				
SSS (6) 1=Principal cannot influence others' decisions.	Tea.	2.2	2.6	.068
3=He is persuasive.				
SSS (8) 1=Not important	Tea.	2.8	2.0	.004
3=Very important				

*Note. Two tailed t-tests were performed.

for old relationships to be redefined during training of this sort. Trickett and Todd (1973) cite such changes as shifts in resources for participants; e.g., students have an opportunity to relate to teachers in a novel way as a result of new ways of working together through rap groups. What our findings indicate, in addition, is that this new relationship can be double-edged. That is, it can throw new light onto old relationships and provide new resources, but it can also establish expectations that are disappointed when participants return to old roles. Therefore, the training should anticipate such issues in preparing participants for re-entry.

Observation: Further, this group of teachers sees curriculum changes per se as less important than they did prior to the training. In interviews, they report their emphasis as having shifted to wanting to effect changes around "communications, student participation in decision making policies, increased student services such as a youth crisis center," and so on. These findings are related to the trend represented by QUESTA responses. That is, while only the significant findings do not indicate a strong trend, the total responses to these questions suggest an increased dissatisfaction with what WHS actually emphasizes. Moreover, what is criticized is consonant with the change in attitudes reported during and after the training workshop. Thus, for example, students see school as less personally fulfilling, emphasizing the learning of society's rules and not adequately emphasizing factors such as leadership and creativity.

Interpretation: This shift from academic concerns to more social,

environmental, cultural concerns can be understood as a result of the values expressed both overtly and covertly during the training by the staff of the workshop. That is, the TG more closely mirrors the attitudes of the CHUM staff at the end of the workshop. Thus, they begin to espouse the concerns which emphasize leadership and creativity, begin to take an increased student advocate stance, and so on, much like that presented by the CHUM staff.

Implications: Such mirroring is to be expected in a workshop such as this. Trainers, then, have an increased obligation to be aware of this modelling, to facilitate a responsible focusing of this criticism, and to encourage participants to make constructive use of these new insights. Another implication of this shift in criticism is that participants now have increased their understanding of the scope of their school's influence and responsibility with students. That is, their definitions of task boundaries have changed.

Observation: The CES findings as reported in Figures 1 and 2 and in Table 2, further corroborate the above findings. Thus, the significant F-test that TG teachers see themselves as less task oriented than the comparison groups, remains significant through the post-test so that they are even less task oriented at the end of the training than they were prior to it. An analysis of the student's perceptions of any changes in the classroom environment of the three groups of teachers found no significant changes.

Interpretations: If anything, these results as well as the other analyses of the CES data, suggest a regression to the mean. That is,

TABLE 7.2
 $\bar{X}$ SCORES BY GROUP ON
 POST-TEST CES

Group	<u>Subscale</u>								
	<u>Involvement</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Teacher Supportiveness</u>	<u>Task Orientation</u>	<u>Competition</u>	<u>Order Organization</u>	<u>Role Clarity</u>	<u>Teacher Control</u>	<u>Innovation</u>
<u>Students</u>									
TG	5.5	6.9	7.5	5.1	5.4	4.8	5.5	2.6	6.4
NTG 1	5.5	5.9	6.7	5.9	5.1	5.8	6.8	4.6	4.5
NTG 2 & 3	4.1	6.3	6.1	6.4	5.4	5.9	6.3	3.9	3.8
Among F-test Groups	2.5	1.9	2.0	0.8	0.1	0.6	1.8	3.1	3.4
p	.12	.18	.17	.45	> .5	> .5	.20	.08	.06
<u>Teachers</u>									
TG	8.2	8.5	9.0	4.2	3.8	6.0	5.3	1.9	7.2
NTG 1	8.1	6.6	7.1	7.7	5.6	6.9	8.4	6.1	5.3
NTG 2 & 3	6.8	7.5	7.3	7.3	6.3	7.3	8.0	3.0	5.3
Among F-test Groups	0.6	1.4	1.9	4.3	2.3	0.4	5.7	7.5	0.8
p	> .5	.29	.18	.03	.14	> .5	.01	.005	.46

Note. No within groups F-tests were significant.

FIGURE 7.1

CES POST-TEST GROUP $\bar{X}$ SCORES (TEACHERS)
P-LEVELS (AMONG GROUPS)

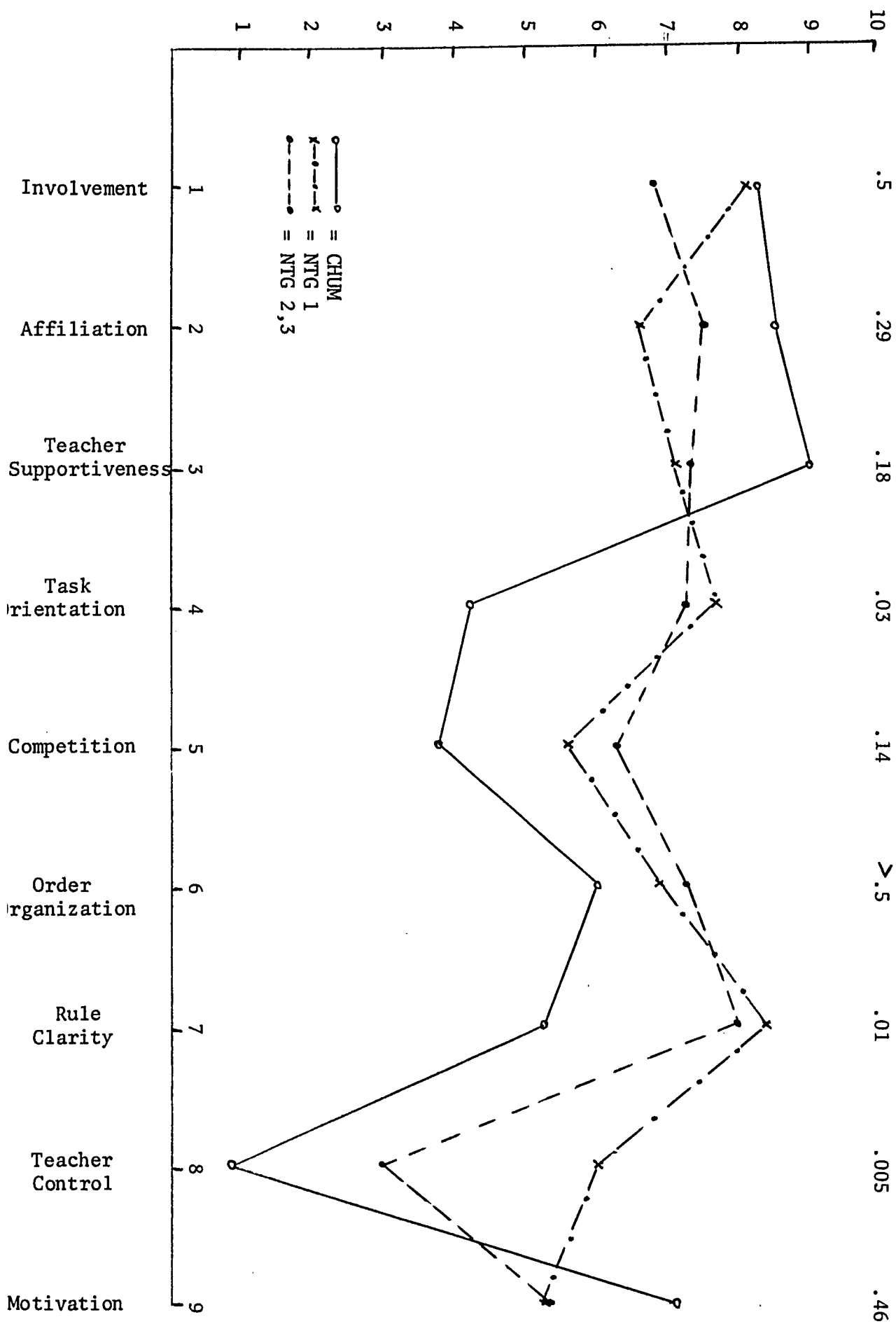
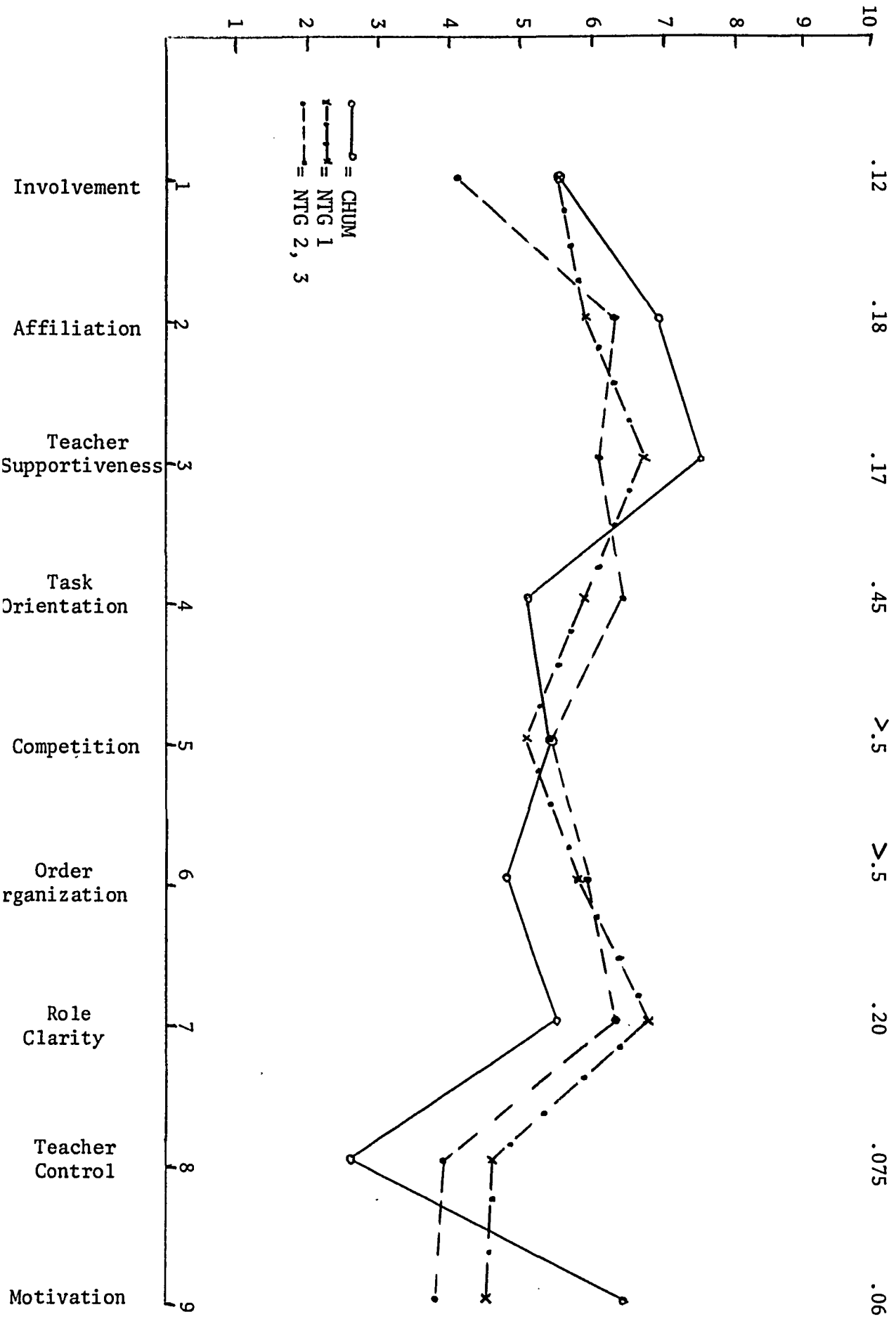


FIGURE 7.2

CES POST-TEST GROUP $\bar{X}$ SCORES (STUDENTS)
P-LEVELS (AMONG GROUPS)



they suggest a levelling of differences within and among these sets of classrooms, rather than a definite set of changes. This might be a result of the insensitivity of the measures employed, or might question their validity as measures of the sorts of changes that occur as a result of the training. An equally plausible hypothesis is that the training had little effect on teacher classroom behavior and that the natural progression is a regression to the mean. In any event, for our purposes of structural analysis, these scales were inappropriate within our time limits.

Boundary Changes

Given the change in attitudes suggested by the above results, we might expect that having become more critical of the high school, the TG would have some alternatives to offer for desired changes. If we remember the training, however, this is not too likely to be the case because the TG was not trained for, and lacked any, task oriented goals. In fact, they have made plans to search for such goals within the others who did not attend the training.

Observation: Instead of providing leadership for desired change in the high school, the TG presented an image of group togetherness. Whenever they were asked what they had learned at CHUM and what they planned to do with that learning, the TG would typically respond with phrases such as "we learned how to trust one another," "we are open to each other and to any suggestions you have;" "we learned how to listen to each other, especially to students." Thus the TG presented a highly bounded image of "openness."

Interpretation: This "openness" was in itself a boundary that separated the TG from the others. As one teacher who did not attend the training phrased it, "you can recognize those guys (the TG) because they walk around two feet off the ground and talk about all that 'openness' stuff."

We might understand this presentation of themselves, as the TG's learned style as was suggested earlier (i.e., a modelling established at CHUM). Another way of understanding this stance is to view it as a way of attempting to maintain some sense of togetherness in a hostile and anxiety provoking environment. In fact, there was a great deal of antagonism upon their return. Other teachers, especially, frequently made hostile comments to the returning TG teachers such as "while you were gone, we did your work," or, "did you have fun in East Town while we underlings slaved away back here?" Thus the TG was motivated to strengthen its unity at first, which leads to more rigid or clearly defined boundaries.

The hostility the TG encountered has several sources. One is the simple reaction to their having received some special treatment which others did not. Thus, themes of jealousy and resentment for that. Another stems from the threat that others perceive in the TG's having been trained to be "change agents" as some of the myths suggest. Another source of tension might be the difference in boundary relations between the TG teachers and students and of both with the principal and assistant superintendent of schools.

Implications: The introduction of the TG as a new entity in the

existing HS system produced heightened boundary definition and management. As we shall see in Chapter VIII, this heightening of system boundaries is much like biological defense mechanisms in the human body which are activated when a foreign object is introduced.

Observation: The TG, then, had become differentiated from the rest of the back-home group. Their re-integration, as a group, required leadership to manage the boundary between them and their colleagues. In many ways, the HSTG had come to depend on and to expect the principal to provide this leadership during the training. On returning, however, the principal resumed a role closer to that before he left. In essence, then, his resumption of earlier roles was experienced by them as an abandonment by the TG on many levels. The TG encountered difficulty in establishing new leadership since on a non-rational level the principal was seen as the only legitimate leader. So, not only was the TG faced with marked external factors but they had significant internal matters to settle before they could accomplish any task performance that involved other groups.

One way that this group attempted to deal with the task of being integrated as a new entity was to hold several meetings with the others at the HS. One of these was a formal in-service training session held on an afternoon during school time. This consisted of the TG presenting very brief excerpts of their experiences at CHUM and then splitting the large audience into smaller discussion groups to explore common problems at WHS and possible directions for the future. The anxiety level of the presentations was evident. Students attempted to present some factual

information about pharmacology and besides considerable speech interruptions and other behavioral signs of anxiety, there were actual errors in information.

Interpretations: We might understand one source of this anxiety as stemming from students' uneasiness about performing before their authorities, or other forms of individual anxiety about presenting before such a large audience. There seemed to be, however, another source of anxiety: namely the mounting intergroup tensions at the HS. This became even more evident during the small discussion groups which followed the presentations. Here, when TG members would attempt to stimulate discussions about issues within the HS, the others, typically, became angry. The expectation of the others seemed to be twofold: to discover what "really" happened at CHUM, and to see what leadership the TG was going to take around how to deal with drug abuse and other problems at WHS. The result was a battle between the two groups with the TG pursuing "openness" and interest in others' ideas and the NTG's in attendance becoming more desperate and angrily frustrated in their pursuit of their expectations. Most of the TG felt frustrated and devastated after the meetings. They called for a TG meeting shortly thereafter to plan new strategy.

Implications: Intergroup activities demand clear leadership since there is a need to manage exchanges across sector boundaries. The lack of leadership demonstrated here (especially missing from the principal who had provided it earlier) led to diffuse boundary management. Furthermore, without such clear leadership, individual responsibility and risk

increased within the TG in an ambiguous and anxiety provoking manner that further impeded task performance.

Observation: Over time, things began to deteriorate. Both teachers and students began to miss meetings. The principal had already stopped attending. Members began to reassess their priorities so that if a meeting of the TG were called at the same time as another group, members would typically attend the other meeting. A few remained dedicated to making something happen within the HS. A leader emerged (a department chairman) whose main concern was to preserve the feeling of caring and openness within the TG.

Interpretations: It seems to be no accident that the new leadership comes from middle-management or administration given the structure and process of the HS as outlined in Chapter III. That is, the administrative role involves leadership in the form of managing boundaries between different sectors of the HS and others have come to expect this performance from individuals who normally occupy these roles. Additionally, the particular individual administrator here was a voice for the sentient ties within the TG which were being shaken. Moreover, that the new leader is a department chairman is of interest. Since department chairman are between the principal and the others in the organizational hierarchy, the emergence of leadership from this level might be an effort to approximate the role played by the principal by another who is in a position of authority.

Implications: Training workshops geared at team building need to facilitate a group's clearly establishing leadership that will endure

through the re-entry process. Thus, the level of commitment of the designated leaders must be clear. This leadership is necessary in order to manage the boundary of the new entity (the TG) and thus prevent the chaos experienced here. Consideration might be given to fostering this leadership in someone already in authority who is already responsible for, and accustomed to boundary management and boundary crossing.

Task Boundaries

Observation: Task performance was relegated to events outside the boundary of the TG. Thus, one TG faculty member located two students with whom he had a good working relationship, and began making plans for establishing a youth crisis center. This faculty member was the same man who had been excluded and who had excluded himself during the training at CHUM. He personally viewed his efforts in the crisis center as "independent" of the TG and "something he had been wanting to do for a long time." Further, he had hoped that the TG "would have been more active" in its efforts to pursue such tasks and would "come put their money where their mouths are; but they're too afraid."

Another way that task performance was pursued outside the boundary of the TG was in the formation of a Steering Committee (SC) composed of students, teachers, administrators from all sectors of the W school system. This group was called and chaired by the assistant superintendent of schools and met in the Central Office. It was this group that then planned future demonstrations, school system wide meetings, outlined tasks and committees and sought additional assistance from CHUM and another agency in East Town for additional training.

Within the HS, the internal disintegration and the external pressures increased for the TG. There still was inadequate leadership to manage the group boundary. As a result, the boundary began to become diffuse and overly permeable. Thus, one TG faculty member, acting on his own, sent a memo to all HS students and staff stating:

"There will be a Meeting of All Those Interested (M.O.A.T.I.)
in Room 212, Wed., April 15 at 2:45 P.M."

Significantly, this memo was unsigned. It is quoted in its entirety! This marked the last of the TG meetings. Several people attended this meeting, decided to call themselves MOATI, and decided to establish a hot-line for counselling distressed youth in W. They continued to meet for several months, participated in telephone counselling training with an agency referred by CHUM and began to make final arrangements for a location to be shared with the crisis center. These efforts, however, did not reach fruition at this writing.

Interpretations: An open systems way of summarizing the outline of events presented above is to view them with special attention to the boundary events involved. Thus, the absence of effective leadership to manage task or sentient boundary transactions involved in re-entering their home setting and then in exchanges with other sectors within the HS, led first to a highly bounded group characterized by affective postures. The affective stance of "openness and caring" and their common experience at CHUM served to differentiate the TG from others at the HS. In the absence of leadership and specific tasks, however, this boundary could not become sufficiently permeable to allow for exchanges of information, ideas and personnel. Left in the vacuum of this isolation, the

nature of the boundary shifted to almost complete diffusion and total unselective permeability so that it was no longer possible to differentiate the TG from other sectors within the HS. This dissolution of the group allowed the TG to be members again in their community. The anxiety encountered in their isolation was reduced but the cost was the integrity of the group.

Implications: As above, these observations reiterate the need for clear leadership and task boundaries to be established prior to re-entry efforts. Further, we see the need to encourage groups involved in change (such as the TG) to provide themselves with an avenue of functioning that is outside the established boundaries of their back-home system. For example, in this study, functioning was able to continue in the SC which crossed role and institutional boundaries and which met in a building that was not identified with any one sector of the TG.

Resumption of Roles

Observations: During the training workshop the TG were able to suspend many of the role restrictions in their relationships (cf. Chapter V). Now, however, back at the HS there were many pressures to resume familiar and necessary roles. Thus, the re-entry process involved role resumption and relinquishing of the newer, more fragile relationships formed at CHUM.

The principal, for example, while at CHUM was able to relate to students somewhat less formally; he could be addressed by his first name. He took leadership in discussions about student dilemmas and areas of

possible future change at the HS. Upon his return, however, others who had not attended the training maintained expectations of his prior role. Further, his tasks as principal did not change and he had many days of back work simply to catch up to where he could begin functioning on a daily basis. Added to this was his personal conviction that the type of training and vague goals presented during the workshop were "a lost cause." It is no small wonder, then, that he withdrew from actively participating in the TG. Moreover, were he to continue identifying and being identified with this group, he might have had to sacrifice other projects that he had begun before the training. One of these was the liberalization of smoking regulations for students; another was the introduction of additional faculty responsibility for behavioral objectives.

In a parallel fashion, the TG teachers and students were faced with role demands both internally (i.e., how they defined their roles) and externally from their peers. Most responded by essentially resuming their roles as they had before the training. Some, however, could not do this. They reported significant internal conflicts about what they had experienced in the training and about what they now felt was expected of them in their return. Thus, one teacher, who previously had devoted considerable time as vice-president of one of the teacher unions, felt that because this organization was too conservative and reactionary in its approach to teacher-student relationships, he had to resign. Likewise, a student felt she had to deny her two-week relationship with faculty members once she returned: "Bob is now Mr. Harrington." For some returning TG members, role resumption was a relief. That is, to

some it was easier and less anxiety provoking than maintaining newly defined relationships with either peers or others of different status groups. Only outside of formal activities could the role boundaries between TG students and teachers be redefined as they had been at CHUM; even then, it was only for about five or six individuals within the group.

Interpretations: Social systems establish norms for role performance. Individuals arrive at role performance based on the interaction of their own expectations of the role demands of the social system and of their own expectations about how the role is to be enacted (cf. Sarbin, 1968; Levinson, 1959). The intervention in this study affected the nature of the role boundaries between members of different status groups at the HS (as well as school system). Attempts at maintaining such changes, however, are dependent on both inner conviction on the part of the individuals involved as well as on support from a significant reference group. What this study suggests is that without the support of the significant reference group, an individual cannot alone maintain changes in role boundaries when they come in conflict with norms established by the operating context. That is, while a large group was trained which provided support to its own members, within the HS system this entire group was viewed as deviant. Thus, the requisite support for re-entry was lost in the overall feeling of being deviant in this system.

Implications: The implications of this observation are enormous for training. Perhaps the most important statement that can be made is

to alert participants of the deviant status they will occupy in their home systems on their return. Again, this observation underscores the need to facilitate team building during the training and to make leadership and objectives clear before returning home.

Reactions to Research

Observations: The research contract was negotiated with the superintendent's office and the principal of the HS. Once the principal allowed the researchers to administer the Questionnaires and the CES within the HS, respondents were essentially voluntary: participation in observations and interviews was also voluntary. That is, announcements and introductions were made by the principal's office referring to time and place of various research events such as questionnaire administration, classes to be given the CES, and so on. Teachers and students were free to participate or not. In the first wave of questionnaires, 58% of all respondents returned completed questionnaires. In wave II, over four months later (three months after the TG returned), only 30% completed the questionnaires. Moreover, the drop in response rate was greater for teachers than students; 57% of teachers surveyed responded in wave I and only 24% in wave II; students wave I response rate was 58%, wave II 32%.

The TG students and teachers both returned more questionnaires than any other group in either administration. Clearly, this is to be expected in such a situation since the TG were preparing to go to CHUM and were enthusiastic about CHUM sponsored activities such as the research.

The others had less commitment and in some cases outright skepticism about both CHUM and the research. The drop in both TG and NTG response rates after the training (wave II) might be understood as disenchantment with the CHUM training, impatience with lengthy forms, and other overt reactions to the research activities.

Simply understanding the drop in response rate as a rejection of, or distaste for, the research per se would lose some of the systems implications we can derive from these reactions. That is, clearly, a large portion of the reduced response rate can be understood as an unwillingness to participate in a venture that has little or no reward and that is time consuming. To stop an analysis of this finding, however, at this point without exploring some of the processes involved in this rejection would be to lose significant data about the nature of the system under study and of the intervention efforts in general. Thus, the incidental comments and behavioral reactions to the research endeavor provide additional diagnostic information.

The most striking event in reaction to the research was a formal complaint lodged by one of the teacher's unions against the research. Originally, the research team suggested to the central office administrator with whom the research contract was negotiated, that perhaps a representative of the teacher unions might be involved in the deliberations. This was not believed to be necessary by the administrator. At the time of the research, however, the union, which has essentially been dormant this year, began to mobilize. A union meeting was called to register the complaint and then a full faculty meeting was convened to discuss the

complaints with the central office administrator, the principal and the researchers. Complaints ranged from concerns about not protecting individual anonymity, to doubts about the purpose of the questionnaires. One teacher even speculated that the data gathered might be forwarded to some CIA central file in Washington! As much as was possible, reassurances were made that the task of the research was to investigate CHUM effectiveness and that all data would be confidential and would never be reported in a fashion that would identify any individual *per se*. This rational approach to the complaints, however, was inadequate since everyone involved had already received that message via letters and on the front of each form. What finally allowed some individuals to relinquish their fight stance, was an agreement that they could skip any questions which they found offensive or dangerous. (This, too, was stated on the forms.) That is, what seemed to reduce the anger was a sense of victory on the part of the potential respondents.

Interpretations: While the events and details that surrounded this encounter are fascinating and still vivid to the author, we can best learn from this event if we explore the systemic and structural ramifications. First, what occurred was a rigidification of the boundaries within sectors of the HS. Thus, the union used this opportunity as a nidus for mobilizing a resistance to an event approved by both central and in-house administration. Part of their objection stemmed from their not having been represented in negotiations. Furthermore, during the faculty meeting to discuss grievances, groupings within the faculty were more evident than they had been during prior observed meetings. That is,

the meeting was held in the student cafeteria which is a large room filled with tables that seat about six or eight people. At each table or clusters of tables were identifiable sentient groupings; older faculty members who represented angry and paranoid objections to the entire endeavor; younger, more sympathetic members who sat silently and stifled laughter at some of the extreme fears and objections raised; those most active in the union who did most of the talking for the faculty; those most active in the teachers' association who found themselves periodically fighting with the union members over issues raised and would then stop themselves; in-house administrators and central office representative; and others. Thus, the research stimulated a clarification and bolstering of factions within the school, i.e., it raised boundaries within the school. Moreover, it provided the union with a focal point it seemed to be lacking previously.

Implications: Again, the introduction of a novel stimulus, much like the new entity of the TG, stimulated internal system boundary activity. This supports our notion of the effects of such stimulation as an increase in defenses in the form of more highly articulated, managed and rigidified boundaries. This finding supports Aldrich's (op. cit.) hypothesis that such coercive organizations will respond to intrusions of this sort by tightening organizational boundaries.

A second major interpretation of the reaction to the research is related to the port of entry of the researchers. That is, it is noteworthy that the union and select individuals used this issue to claim some power from the administration, however small. While it was the

research that was being attacked, this was only a vehicle for criticizing the administration in its management of the external boundary of the HS and of its intrusion into the privacy of its members. Data for this interpretation is that the actual research concessions were in fact minimal and that most of the criticism and fear was directed at the administrators. To wit, one teacher expressed doubt that the administration would not view the results. Further, that the researchers would report back to the "men who sanctioned the research in the first place."

There was no way of convincing extreme proponents of this view that the research was for CHUM's edification and not a report back to the school system about its internal functioning. This extreme doubting had a paranoid flavor to it which mounted to a mistrust of Eastern University and the country in general at these times (Watergate had not yet occurred).

Moreover, many respondents were suspicious of the individual researchers because of their university affiliation, CHUM affiliation, and their appearances. As one older, foreign language teacher stated, "How do I know you're not going to publish your findings and embarrass me. You're from EU, you guys all have to publish. And besides, you teach about change and you look like a radical!" Ironically, it was just these same factors that others used as support for the research. Thus, one science teacher said, "You know you can trust these people, they're from EU and are only interested in obtaining scientific data about their work so they can learn and improve. Besides, they don't look like the kind of people who'd abuse their stance of confidentiality as they've written here"(pointing to our letter to the faculty).

The items most objectionable to the outspoken teachers were those about the union and those requesting demographic information. Others felt that the questions generally implied that change for its own sake was good and that teachers were responsible for student drug abuse. Thus, many teachers did not respond to the items about the union or did not complete the demographic section but did respond to the remainder of the instrument. Others, however, simply opted out of the research or wrote across the front page that they found the research objectionable.

The principal continued to receive complaints about his role in supporting the research, as did the central office administrator. While there may be no connection, the major objectors to the research were also those most opposed to the introduction of behavioral objectives in the HS. The objections to these guidelines and criteria were similar to those directed at the research. Namely, there was concern that individual rights, such as privacy, creativity, and so on, would be violated and that teachers would be forced to evaluate, be evaluated, and to teach material based on standards that were not their own or not in the best interests of their students, colleagues or themselves. They felt a major boundary violation in the incipient introduction of such guidelines, but felt little power to defend themselves against their being introduced. Thus, the principal would often be besieged, as the major manager of the external boundary of their HS, to halt their introduction, and to halt the introduction of other "intrusions" such as the research. When it was suggested to some of the objecting teachers that they always had the

individual choice (responsibility) to not respond to the research, they retorted with concerns about others implicating them, citing their names or affiliations without their being aware. One teacher even went so far as to suggest that some of the questions that requested names of individuals or information about union affiliation, were illegal. He intended to pursue legal action. (Of course, this information request was not illegal.)

Implications: We can understand this marked mistrust in many ways. Certainly one way would fit with our understanding of the coerciveness of this social system as outlined in Chapter III. As we noted, Aldrich (op. cit.) suggests that we can expect the observed strengthening of participation and conformity to organizational rules and ideology in this captive system. Thus, since members have so little participation in the management of the external boundary of their system, and since they have so little say in their own internal management, they are led to mistrust and resent outside intrusions which threaten them in any way; especially research which questions just these kinds of issues.

In general, those farthest away from any involvement in boundary management were most opposed to the research. This fits with other events at the HS: teacher time allotments, student smoking regulations, open pass privileges. Moreover, it fits with literature about social systems (Klein and Gould, 1973) which suggests that those most involved in active boundary management, especially the external boundaries of a social system, are less fearful of novelty within their own system whereas

those more peripherally involved in boundary management are typically more rigid, mistrustful and fearful of novel intrusions. Astrachan and Levinson (1973) report this in their paper on entry into a mental health center. They note that those on the "front line," i.e., coping with patients, enjoy a double-edged comfort factor since the "real" control over policy, etc., is elsewhere, at administrative levels.

Large Group and Intergroup Dynamics

The HSTG not only had to cope with the immediate environment of the HS, but it was involved as well in other intergroup events with the rest of the CHUM training group. In some instances, this larger reference group might have provided additional support for the HSTG by sharing difficult experiences, ways of coping, lessening feelings of isolation and so on. Unfortunately, as we shall see from the following account, this larger group served primarily to additionally burden the HSTG. Again, we will find many of the preceding elements which mediate effective task performance operating outside the HS. Thus, issues of leadership, boundary definition and maintenance, role, authority and so on, again compromise this group's efforts to convert the training experience to task performance.

Observations: The following is an account of a meeting of all 49 CHUM participants called by the steering committee (SC) two months after the training. The meeting ranged over three hours immediately after that school day. By the end of the meeting, approximately forty of the forty-nine members were present plus assorted other teachers and students;

total: about 50. There were also five CHUM staff trainers present, the EU consultant, the central office administrator responsible for negotiating the training and research contracts, and a local clinical psychologist introduced beforehand by the latter.

Fifteen minutes after the scheduled starting time, a HS teacher representative to the newly formed SC opened the meeting by introducing himself. He then asked for a sanction to run the meeting. Having received neither support nor objections, he continued, assuming out loud that the silence meant approval. He explained the development and task of the SC, briefly outlined the events of the two SC meetings, and referred those present to the letters distributed with the guidelines established by the SC. We will call this teacher the chairman (chrnm).

Chrnm: The first thing to consider is that we need a new name. We can't call ourselves the CHUMers anymore. The SC has suggested an agenda for today. It includes breaking up into small groups to exchange information about what's been happening at each of the schools and to discuss the following items: statement of purpose, the SC composition, and a name for the CHUMers. (pause) I guess I forgot to mention the fourth thing on your agenda: to discuss those tasks outlined by the SC. Forgive me for forgetting to mention this last point, but you can see it was written in the handouts you've received.

There is then some muffled laughter throughout the group, a few comments about CHUM and the absence of tasks, and then a few questions about the points outlined. At 3:00, a half hour into the meeting, the principal of the HS and the assistant superintendent of schools who is the head of the SC, are not yet present.

Chrnm: Unless there are any further questions, I suggest we break up into five small groups by counting off in order from one to five. Group 1 goes to room 115, group 2 to room 116... (He continues assigning meeting places to the sectors and manages the dissemination of people to the various places.)

Each of the CHUM staff went to observe a sector. The author stayed with the group that remained in the original meeting room to both observe this meeting and to also observe any late comers (particularly to see when, if

and how the principal or assistant superintendent would arrive and be handled). What follows is a brief description of this sector's activities. Notes from the other sectors suggest that essentially similar activity occurred.

By chance, through the counting procedures, this group consisted of eight people to begin with: 2 HSTG students, 2 HSTG teachers, 2 JHSTG teachers, and a NTG HS student. About ten minutes into the meeting, 2 more HSTG teachers arrived and joined the group. During this time there was some ineffectual attempt to accept the agenda established by the SC. Then some discussion focussed on ratifying the statement of purpose proposed by the SC. This could not be totally accepted, however, even though no one offered any specific objections.

JHS Teacher: I'm going to take some leadership. These are the agenda items we've been given (he reiterates them).

JHS Teacher 2: (hereafter JHS 2) The first question as far as I'm concerned is the membership of the SC. Should it be continuous, rotating, what tenure, what happens if someone drops out?

JHS Tea. 3: How big should it be? Should there be people on it from all the different groups represented at CHUM?

There then follows a discussion of these points. For the most part, it's as if members could not hear each other since they often reiterated items which others had discussed. After about ten minutes discussion, they agreed that the membership should be rotating:

JHS 2: Yeah, I think that's a good idea. That way, everybody gets a chance to be in the heart of what's happening.

JHS Tea. 4 The SC will need to have monthly meetings.

JHS 2: In line with what goals? Is the objective to keep the three schools' programs similar?

JHS 4: No...communications...this may become a task for this group. For example, interschool communications. The SC will primarily coordinate task groups and prevent duplication and facilitate an exchange of information.

JHS 2: Then we agree there's a need for a SC. But we wouldn't want the membership of the SC to change

all the time. Also, we'd want people from each faction; maybe two to represent each facet.

JHS 4: Let's stagger the changes so that there's always someone whose been there a while.

HS Tea. 1: Let's decide how to do it. It ought to be voluntary, and up to each faction and rotating.

At this point the HS principal enters and takes a seat just outside the group. Discussion continues as if he were not there. No one stops to inform him of what has occurred or is being discussed.

JHS 2: Is it [the SC] limited to just the CHUMers?

HS Tea. 2: There are lots of non-CHUMers who are active in our work.

JHS 2: Then we ought to open it up.

Discussion continued about membership on SC, when SC meetings might occur, whether or not there would be money to pay for substitutes if meetings were to be held during school hours, and so on. Final decisions were left for the members of the SC to decide and negotiate.

Ldr: Do we need a name?

Student: It would be better. Then we could call ourselves something for the others.

HS Prin: I try to prevent the use of CHUM as a name. It tends to make us cliquish. It keeps people away.

Student: How about MOATI -- Meeting of all those interested. We call ourselves that at the HS.

JHS 4: We spend more time on how to sign and address letters than anything else.

JHS 2: But it's necessary to have a name.

The final decision, a non-decision, was not to have a name right now but to wait until a name was really needed.

Ldr: Let's turn to the various tasks suggested by the SC.

JHS 1: Our full meetings [i.e., total 49] so far have been just bullshit. We're losing students.

HS Prin: Maybe you're doing too much yourself.

JHS 1: It's been so hard to arrive at specific tasks that people want to do or think can be done.

An awkward pause of about two minutes follows this last comment. Then several people begin talking at once in soft voices.

Student: The school, the HS, just absorbed everybody who went to CHUM.

HS 1: Yeah, that's important.

JHS 4: You have the option to work as an individual or with a group. As far as I can tell, there's a group at the HS and at the other JHS who want to do something, but haven't been able to as well as we have at our JHS.

HS Prin: A lot of people are waiting for somebody else to get things started.

JHS 4: Are you doing anything?! Are you getting anything started?!

HS Tea. 3: A hot-line.

Student: A teen center.

JHS 4: Just do your thing.

JHS 2: Maybe we can coordinate an established group to work on a hot-line with our efforts. (This is followed by a minute of silence in the group.)

We go into the fishbowl next? (Minute pause and silence)

HS Prin: Maybe the suggestion of such large numbers is a problem? (Minute of silence)

JHS 2: ...people trying to destroy it. That's human nature. (Minute of silence)

- HS Prin: I'm concerned about next year. What's going to happen. The school administration would be helpful to make it possible for interested teachers to be available for students. But, I haven't heard any suggestions of this sort of thing from you, or of any specifics.
- HS Tea. 3: If we could have a common preparation period, that would be helpful.
- HS Prin: Are you asking me to do something? For whom? As individuals? Are you waiting for me to tell me what to do?!

At this point the others begin to re-enter the room to form a fishbowl and to share information across sectors. Representatives from each of the sectors began to report on their deliberations. During this time, the HS Prin leaves. Having arrived sometime during the small group meetings, the ass't sup't of schools gives a two minute speech about what has happened at the SC, its purpose and turned this into a pep talk winding up with: "We're not looking for joiners. There's lots of people doing stuff on their own!"

- Chrmn: (Makes a summary comment of all the reports. Then:) We need to agree on a definition of purpose, on specific tasks. We must have something specific before we break up this afternoon.
- Student: Why don't we just sign up under each of the headings.
- JHS 1: It won't mean anything. I think we ought to turn the meeting over to the SC.
- Student: I don't want to see a loss of individual flames and especially student interest.
- JHS Tea: If anybody is interested in any area, sign up so the SC can know what it is you want to do.
- JHS Tea. 1: You'll lose a sense of individuality that way. All you'll have is a bunch of signatures and no real people.
- JHS Prin: Boy, this meeting is getting confused; we don't pay attention to each other. I per-

sonally feel I have many interests besides CHUM. Therefore, there are only two areas for me: one is a small group of teachers and students, ongoing. The other is to work as a principal to get better communication in the school, to be open and hope for this to snowball throughout my entire school.

Ass't Sup't: How about a meeting for the SC to discuss all these exciting things. Maybe the SC can caucus now, or decide on when we'll meet again. (At this point, those sitting in the center of the circle seek less conspicuous seats within the group. They had been sitting there in silence for about five minutes after having made their presentations.)

That was just a suggestion, you don't have to run away.

Chrmn: (With a tone of desperation) Can we have a ratification of a statement of purpose?! (Unanimous "aye!")

The chrmn then moves onto the next item on the agenda, a name. There's lots of excited discussion about what name to use; considerable joking, searching for appropriate and catchy terms, and so on. Finally, sensing that the group will not be able to make such a decision, suggests that the SC consider all the possibilities raised today and then get back to the group at large later. One teacher then begins a lengthy disapproval of the names that have been suggested, essentially stating that they are too cliquish. Another teacher makes an attempt to get away from the discussion of names noting how time consuming it has been. Then the central office administrator (cao) shouts over the voices:

Cao: We have to consider the future role of CHUM. The CHUM staff is here today to discuss this with us so that we can make plans for how we will work together in the future. We also need to make plans about the future role of Dr. Lockett [the EU consultant]. At our last full meeting he was mentioned and he is here today to discuss some of the issues raised then.

- Ass't Sup't: These are on the agenda, but there are other items first. Can we continue with the agenda?
- JHS Tea: What about planning small group discussions in our schools?
- Chrmn: Do we agree that there will be a SC, at least until September? This way they can work over the summer and keep some continuity.
- Community Rep: How about if they stay as they are until next February because of things dying over the summer and then slowly resuming in the fall?

Others resume debate about the SC tenure and rotation. Finally, the chrnm calls for a vote and there is unanimous agreement. This author missed what was being agreed upon; it might be that others did as well. The chrnm then calls for the next item on the agenda: reports from the different schools to share ongoing activities. The JHS's are very proud of their work efforts and spend a lot of time reporting this. The HS has not been able to delegate anyone to speak for them. Then some of the students present their efforts to get the hot-line and crisis center started. Then the chrnm goes on to the next item on the agenda:

- Chrmn: Now, let's turn to our EU friends.
- CHUM 1: It's still not clear about what you want from us. Today's meeting demonstrated that you're at a really critical point. You can make it or break it now. So far you've been carried on the energy from CHUM. Now you need to get longer range tasks and commitments. You've been putting a lot back on the SC. That's typical of this group. (She elaborates...)
- You're now experiencing a form of separation anxiety. It's like growing up. (She elaborates on this for awhile) It's sort of like going to college. Now you're attempting to bury CHUM as a name and are seeking a new identity.
- JHS 1: Your help is directed at the group, but as soon as I individualize, I don't know how you'll help me.

CHUM 1: Well, for example, you have requested more training. But you haven't specified training for what.

Chrmn: Several have mentioned the need for a one-day refresher course back in East Town.

CHUM 1: ...For what...?

Chrmn: To renew spirit; a reunion; to find out what others are doing or have done.

JHS Tea: Did we miss a step in our development? We still have large numbers of members. It's not too late.

CHUM 1: Remember that shitty low on Tuesday of the second week in East Town. This is a second shitty low. You need to work some more and re-unite.

Chrmn: What about some of the unsettled business with Dr. Lockett?

CHUM 1: Back to the issue I raised.

Student: I hear that the group from North Town (a neighboring town similar to W) sent a second wave of people to CHUM. Was that helpful?

CHUM 1: No. They wound up fighting and competing with each other.

Ass't Sup't: I hear you suggesting a plan which is different than what I feel we should do. Are you saying we ought to stay together as a large group to get our work done?

CHUM 1: There's no prescription. It's up to you.

HS Tea: We've let you shut us off again. Several of us feel it would be a good idea to spend a day back at CHUM. You've kicked us out of the nest. We feel it might be helpful to return.

JHS Tea: But I disagree. We need to be specific. I don't feel that CHUM can help me because I haven't done enough to know what I need help in.

Student: I didn't go to CHUM but I need help in setting up a hot-line.

JHS Tea: We just want one day at CHUM to organize.

Student: This is ridiculous. Everybody here is waiting for somebody else to move!!!

HS Tea: (This is the man responsible for starting the crisis center efforts) I'd like to speak to two points: First, this group had done nothing and is in danger of falling apart. Second, any specific tasks are pushed under the table. What is the fear of committing yourself and working hard?

JHS Prin: Some of us are working.

HS Tea: Glad to hear it.

The group then reiterated some of the differences between the JHS and the HS, re-emphasizing that the JHS's were doing a lot of work because they were running small discussion groups. There was another call for signing up for specific tasks which was again diverted. The private psychologist informed the group of the local Mental Health Association's interest in being of service.

Attention at the end of the meeting was on the EU consultant. At a previous meeting, the group expressed a lot of anger at him for his earlier work on the drug-abuse survey.

JHS Tea: In our school, when you gave your report on the survey, we didn't like you. When someone hears that you're a PH.D. from EU, you get a mental image. You come across as a freak. You don't look the part.

Such comments were only the beginning. No one could cite specific shortcomings in either the research or the work done by Dr. Lockett, which he noted. Instead, twenty minutes of angry attack ensued during which Dr. Lockett's credibility was questioned; he was additionally criticized for not making a clearer explanation of what CHUM was like, and for not stating that the issue was larger than drugs. One teacher called him "weird." Another said, "If you think he's weird, look at that guy (pointing to this author). All he does is sit and take notes. He never says anything." The meeting ended with a continued attack on Dr. Lockett.

Interpretations: The above account, although obviously abbreviated, is presented in as much detail as it is so that the reader might learn the nature of some of these meetings. While this is a meeting of those sympathetic to the CHUM activities and TG efforts, it is formally similar to those meetings of the HSTG and others who did not attend the training. Much of the fascinating covert and overt, rational and non-rational process is evident in the account. The following discussion attempts to highlight some of the elements which underscore many of the difficulties this group encountered in attempting to convert its training experience into actual task performance.

There are several boundary related issues that emerge during this meeting: starting late, guidelines for membership, no designated leader to manage task and sentient boundaries, how the group divides, competition between the schools, how the group relates to the administrators present and to the CHUM staff and EU consultant. In sum, there is no clear demarcation of task and sentient boundaries, or, for that matter, any external boundary around the entire group. Thus, the anxiety, chaos and loss of identity (Turquet, 1969) typically experienced in a large group meeting of this sort are even further exaggerated. It is not purely accidental that the chairman "forgets" to mention the discussion of task performance listed on the agenda. Task is sacrificed for sentience. Further, the group is quick to split up to escape the anxiety aroused by the large group, especially since there is no perceived management of the necessary boundaries to maintain order. Thus, the heavy reliance and focus on procedures instead of task attainment or self-

reflection. It is as if the group is attempting to reassure itself that law and order can be established by acting out structured and familiar rituals of behavior.

This meeting is saturated with thematic symbolism, not the least of which is embodied in the search for a new name. Not only does this provide the group with an essentially mindless activity that allows it to avoid more threatening issues, but it also serves to symbolize a major developmental step for them. Namely, in searching for a new name which would be separate from CHUM, it expresses its felt need to in fact separate further from CHUM and relinquish some of its dependency on this training institute. The focus on the specifics of a name, however, cloaks the issue which is only stated by the CHUM staff spokesman. That is, the group never deals with its difficulties in letting go.

This struggle over independence is further complicated by the nature of member dependence in general within this system. Thus, the level of condescension and infantilization of the administrators' and CHUM staff's comments contributes to the regressive stances demonstrated. In such a regressed posture, it is little wonder that the members of this group experience difficulties in individualization, differentiation of task and sentience, delegation of authority and responsibility, cooperation, and other more effective modes of functioning.

It is clear that this was a very difficult meeting for everyone involved. There is little doubt that the members experienced a great deal of pain and frustration during the afternoon. One way that we saw their efforts to cope with this was by scapegoating the EU consultant.

Not only were they "paying him back" for getting them into this venture in the first place, but they were also able to avoid feeling responsible for their own plight by blaming him for it all. Further, there was an element of putting him through the same treatment that they had experienced upon their return back home. (It turned out later, incidentally, that the EU consultant had not even been the one who presented at the JHS meetings for which he was attacked.) Moreover, we can see that the treatment Dr. Lockett received was in part related to feelings about the current research in the HS and also about the current stance of the CHUM staff in general.

Not only did the group vent its frustration and anger on the consultant, but it also directed these feelings inward. Thus, the marked competition between groups. Again, the HS is typified by the JHS's as in trouble and as not accomplishing anything. As if, the JHS's were encountering no difficulties in their work pursuits. Moreover, the way the members treated the principal, i.e., isolating and essentially ignoring him, was another way of expressing their anger and partly repaying him for abandoning them by his relinquishing leadership. Finally, the style of member to member relatedness was combative, competitive and disrespectful. People interrupted each other and generally found it impossible to cooperate. At times, there were elements of a massive fusion so that no one would be left out of the "heart" of it all, but no individual could feel personally responsible for anything that occurred. Even the CHUM staff was ineffective in facilitating the work

of the group by either interpreting some of the large group dynamics mitigating against work, or by providing interim leadership and/or structure.

Implications: Here, once more, we are presented with an opportunity to view overt and covert structure and functioning as it mitigates against task performance. It is especially critical, then, that at such meetings consulting staff secure their role(s) so as to limit their colluding with the participants in unproductive processes. Thus, consultants need to help the participants understand how anxiety is created and defended against by the various events ongoing. For example, it is helpful to demonstrate how activity such as splitting into small groups, searching for a name, and the like, are substitutes for thought and serve primarily to bind the anxiety aroused by the large group dynamics and by the pressure of task performance.

The importance of structure and its relationship to the observed process is again demonstrated here. Since specific individuals were not delegated formal leadership and authority, task performance was impeded by internal conflict, lack of focus, fusion of issues and groups, and general confusion and avoidance. These non-rational, often covert, dynamics might have been articulated and made overt by the consultants. Clearer structure would have allowed for better management of task and sentient boundaries, instead of the massive acting-out of sentient needs.

This meeting also reiterates the need to secure participant commitment and role differentiation. Along with this is the reminder of the need to have better established the relationship between CHUM staff and

the participants. The team of both outsiders and insiders as suggested by Alderfer (op. cit.) is one way that some of the role diffusion and conflict might have been better handled.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

At this point in time, the state of the art of systems consultation is dependent on the skill and insight of the interventionists. Boundary events, like other theoretical constructs, enable systems analysts and interventionists to articulate aspects of client structure and process. Since boundaries are the framework or skeleton of the social system, an analysis of their placement, management and functioning can be central in diagnostic understandings. Moreover, the analysis of boundaries must include an understanding of other key constructs such as authority, role, task and sentience. Thus, using boundaries as a focus, an interventionist can order this analysis.

This case study has attempted to analyze such boundary events in a school system consultation. In this event, not only was the client system under study, but so was that of the consulting agency since both systems were interacting. What follows is a summary of some of the salient points generated in this analysis, how these relate to open systems theory, and derived implications for intervention method and future research.

Structure, Process and Task Performance

Systems emerge to accomplish specific tasks. To this end, the

structure and functioning of any system are interdependent. In organic systems, e.g., the human body, a unit such as the respiratory system, is structured to best accomplish the intake of oxygen to the blood (and rest of the body) and to export carbon dioxide and other wastes. If the structure were to fail, e.g., lung collapse, functioning would be impaired and task performance would falter. Further, if the process were interrupted, e.g., oxygen intake halted, the task would not be performed and eventually the structure would erode. Finally, it is necessary to understand the context in which the subsystem operates to finalize diagnostic information. That is, for example, if another part of the body is malfunctioning, the respiratory system may be affected.

In social systems, it is possible to define analogous structure and functioning, but often the data is more elusive and the constructs more abstract and ephemeral. In this study, for example, the CHUM task was to import trainees from W, convert them to an intervention team, and then export them back to W to accomplish whatever tasks were established. In order to accomplish this import-conversion-export process, CHUM had evolved a structure which included organizational boundaries, sub-task boundaries (e.g., training unit, research unit), roles within these, and methods for conducting these functions. The W school system, too, had evolved such mechanisms. It had developed and established an organizational structure to prepare for and cope with the training. Such structures, in all systems, are necessary for three major reasons: (1) survival as an entity; (2) coping with and managing both internal and external environmental presses; and (3) development, i.e., going forward in its

ontogeny. Without such structures in any system, there is no way of managing conflict, chaos and maintaining an identity for task performance. The more clear a system is about its primary and secondary tasks, the more appropriate the development of structures can be to accomplish these tasks. The more clear the structure of a system, the more efficient its process. Conversely, the more chaotic its structure, the more impeding is its process.

Boundaries as Focus

Since boundaries are placed at natural interruptions in the flow of activities and around the total system, these regions provide and facilitate articulation of both structure and process. Without boundaries, it becomes impossible to tell the difference between one sub-task and another and between what is part of a system and what is not. Thus boundaries as regions on the interface, delimit structure, define limits and focus of operations and activities, are themselves structures for relating to other groups or systems, and define what is included in a system or sub-system. The management of structure and functioning is defined by role assignments and delegation of authority and responsibility for task performance, including boundary maintenance. "The division of labor defines, and the division of authority locates, the responsibility for regulating boundaries" (Newton and Levinson, 1973, p. 16). In systems analysis then, we are concerned with both structure and functioning (including process) which is the organization of energy and resources to accomplish specified tasks.

In this study, focus was placed on boundary events; other systems phenomena were discussed and examined, but primarily in relation to the major boundary events identified. These included the boundary between CHUM (the consulting agency) and the W school system (the clients); between the training group (from W) and CHUM; between the TG and the rest of W; between teachers, students and administrators within the training group, as well as between the HS, the JHS's and the central administration. In describing the roles, authority, management, tasks operations, and activities of these sub-groups within this consultation, we were able to describe their boundaries. This might sound circular in contrast to an earlier statement of boundary analysis being central. The problem is, however, that none of these constructs is independent.

The thesis put forth here is that boundary events are an organizing factor in systems analysis. Thus, in this study we were able to understand some of the differences of effective intervention by focusing on boundary events to articulate structure and process in, for example, inter-group events, large group meetings and inter-system interaction. Thus, the value of this focus is heuristic.

Intergroup and Large Group Events

When any two or more groups or systems interact there is an exchange of energy, materials, resources, and so on, across the boundaries of both. Within each group, then, it is crucial that there be an understanding of the boundary around it and that there be someone responsible for managing (i.e., having delegated authority for) that region. If this information is not clear within the group, it cannot be clear to others attempting

to relate. For example, in the initial meeting between CHUM and W, it was not clear to either group what the authority of the attending CHUM staff was. Neither was it clear how firm the boundaries put forth by that group were with respect to entrance requirements (i.e., percentage of students required to attend; timing; etc.). Not only did this establish a question of CHUM's competence in having thought through such issues, but it stated to the clients the fuzziness of CHUM's structure and functioning.

Another example of inadequate boundary management comes from those descriptions in the text of intergroup events within the training group. Thus, since formal leadership and authority were not delegated to specific individuals, task performance was impeded by internal conflict, lack of focus, fusion of issues and groups, and general confusion. These non-rational, often covert, dynamics might have been articulated and made overt by the consultants.

Throughout this investigation, we were confronted with the lack of management of task and sentient boundaries. Perhaps the clearest example provided is the description of the large group meeting at the end of Chapter VII. Here, one might argue that the reason the group had so much difficulty functioning was that there was no clear task. Further analysis, however, would allow us to see that task boundaries were not managed. That is, that sentience was powerful and unmanaged; and that there was no formally delegated authority to manage either boundary. Instead, the entire group, including the CHUM staff, were engaged in massive acting-out of sentient needs rather than confronting

the anxiety which drove them further away from task performance.

In complex, intersystem interventions such as the one in this case study, it is imperative that leadership manage task, sentient and organizational boundaries. Further, that such leadership be identified early during the training and that issues of authority, followership, role differentiation, and the like, be given overt examination, rather than being allowed to remain covert.

Another finding of this case study is that the introduction of novel stimuli into a social system raises the internal boundaries within that system. This is especially true for the type of coercive system such as the school in this study. This is in support of Aldrich's hypothesis that we can expect the strengthening of participation and conformity to organizational rules and ideology in systems where members are essentially captive.

The Politics of Collusion

The lack of leadership and authority pervasive throughout this intervention could not have occurred if there had not been some collusion on the part of all those involved. That is, it is inadequate to say that the training group could not establish a clear task and/or leadership and then to proceed to discover all the contributing internal factors. Instead, what might be more accurate is to examine the collusion between CHUM, the training group and Windyville.

Examples of this mutual avoidance of clarity, task, etc. can be found throughout. Specifically, right from the beginning contract negoti-

ations, there was little clarity of who would do the final negotiating, what their authority would be, and so on. Furthermore, CHUM first stated a firm quota of at least 40% student representation and ended accepting only 20%. This was a clear but unstated collusion with W's hesitancy to involve students as a major part of the intervention team.

The unclarity of the training group's boundary, even its membership, was not only a product of dynamics within the client system. It was never challenged or noted by CHUM staff members in subsequent meetings. Instead, all parties behaved as if it were a given reality with which to cope and perhaps be thankful that some people were willing to at least attend meetings. Issues of commitment, individual responsibilities, leadership, role, and so on, then, were never finalized and rarely confronted. The collusion of acceptance overrode dealing with these other issues.

Perhaps one of the most glaring examples of this unstated collusive bind between CHUM and W is found in the selection procedures. As was mentioned in Chapter III, W misrepresented CHUM by not mentioning it directly and by not including any reference to drug education. Instead, CHUM's affiliation with EU was emphasized and only the leadership training aspect of the program was cited. CHUM was sent copies of the selection forms and did not attempt to either alter this information or to discuss it with those responsible at W. To do so, perhaps, would have been to have to revalue themselves. That is, W was presenting an image of CHUM which fit with the way this consulting agency would like to view itself and have others perceive them. Thus, the collusion that resulted in many W

school personnel being angered at the misrepresentation. Clearly, such an event occurring so early in the intersystem interaction would have effects on later events.

Another major boundary issue during this intervention was that between the research efforts and the training. Again, we find collusion in the following ways: First, neither CHUM nor W was clear about how the commitment for research emerged. The research team, in post-hoc fashion, stated that W agreed to accept the research in exchange for future follow-up work. Secondly, it was never clear who had final authority as to what was in the investigation or its conduct. This was finally relegated (i.e., there was no formal delegation of authority) to the EU consultant. Thirdly, despite written and verbal statements that the research was to evaluate CHUM effectiveness, WHS personnel consistently viewed it as either part of the intervention or an assessment of their school. This confusion, in part, spread to the training in that others at WHS often reacted negatively to the research efforts because of their low evaluation of the training; or, they would react negatively to the training group by expressing distaste for research issues or events. Moreover, at times, the primary observer was asked to make interventions that were more appropriately referred to training staff. Thus, at one department chairmen meeting, a member turned to the observer and asked for feedback on the group's functioning. Fortunately, the observer had opportunities to discuss such events with outside others and thus was able to perceive the seduction. Another time, the training staff distributed and collected research forms. Again, this was understood

to be additional boundary confusion and was not continued. This is not to say that research and training cannot be conducted by the same individuals. We will discuss such issues in a later section. Rather, in this study the decision was to separate research from training. To then continue confusing these two activities is to blur the boundary between them and vitiate whatever goals were established for separation in the first place.

It is incumbent on consulting agencies to be sufficiently clear in exchanges across boundaries so as to limit covert collusion with the client system's non-rational processes.

The Politics of Change

It was understood by the client system that a large part of CHUM training was directed at changes in communication, student participation in governance, services available to students in crisis, and other psychosocial factors which are considered to be part of the "drug problem." What particular form such changes would take was left to the training group and their ongoing negotiations within their school and town systems.

"Change" is a highly valent term for most school systems. It is something which is at the same time both espoused and feared. Change can mean being responsive to the times and to the needs of participants and clients. It can also mean chaos, entering into the unknown and relinquishing familiar roles, activities, structures and relationships. Even when individuals commit themselves to change efforts, it is frequently with some amount of fear and/or anxiety; i.e., at best, it is ambivalent. A system, such as WHS, is able to compartmentalize this ambivalence by

relegating conflicting affect to different groups. For example, students are typically stereotyped as seeking change--new courses, increased participation in governance, etc.; administrators, on the other hand, are stereotyped as bastions of the status quo.

In this consultation, CHUM was viewed by the clients as a mildly radical, innovative "change" agent. Further, CHUM staff, through appearance, activities, etc., paired with students and more liberal faculty in developing a cynical, pessimistic view of WHS and the society in general. This pairing was, again, collusive in that both CHUM and others not involved in the training, promulgated this myth.

Thus far, we have used the word "change" in a vague and non-specific fashion. It is in this fashion that the training groups and others at WHS used this term. Such vagueness probably contributes to the fear of change so evident in the re-entry process. We might consider some of the roots of this fear.

Culture

The process of change in social systems involves activities in the culture, social structure, process and personnel of the given system. Most of our analysis has focused on structure and process. In this chapter, issues of culture and individual psychology are introduced in a limited manner. For conceptual purposes it is useful to separate these factors; in the final analysis and in the field, however, such separation is difficult and often results in simplistic formulations. Menzies (1960) presents an integrative stance in her analysis of systems defenses against anxiety. In her approach she is able to provide a cross-level (individual, group

and system) analysis of the defensive functions of various structures and functioning. Her report articulates change in social systems, then, in terms of changes in these systems defenses against anxiety.

As we have noted earlier, "non-rational processes in work groups are evoked and shaped by the nature of the group's primary task and by the structure which has been created to further task attainment" (Newton and Levinson, p. 3, 1973). Moreover, we must consider the particular culture of a given social system to understand its effect on particular individuals and groups. Again, Newton and Levinson (1973) articulate this relationship and provide us with a working definition of culture as the "central and relatively enduring values, assumptions and beliefs which characterize a given social system and which are inter-related over time with that social system's structure" (p. 18).

Since the WHS is an open system, we can begin to understand some of its culture as including national educational policies, the New England ethic and morality, state level educational thrusts, and so on. In sum, these influences are marked by conservatism, a return to the "three R's" of education, achievement rather than process, quantifiable objectives for, and measures of, educational achievement, schools as a socializing agency, and the like. Moreover, although this study took place before the Watergate hearings, more politically aware participants were citing violations of confidentiality, fears of corruption and misuse of information and so on. This mistrust, albeit exaggerated at times and thus an expression of other processes, had its basis in the "times." On a smaller scale, we have described the parallel between the national character and the culture of the W school system specifically. That is, we have noted

that W is almost a caricature of the New England conservative town struggling with the 1970's.

We might also consider the larger cultural influences on CHUM. First, it is a government funded program. Thus, it is mandated to accomplish those tasks approved by Washington. This means it is limited in its "revolutionary" impact. Further, CHUM is affiliated with a prestigious and cautious major university. This, too, censors the "radicalness" of CHUM's activities. Also, however, this affiliation sets additional goals such as academic excellence, scholarly activities, and related academic pressures on a predominantly action oriented system.

We might ask, then, why all the fearfulness and illusions of radical change? Clearly the government is not about to finance agencies which run counter to trends it establishes; clearly a small group of teachers, students and administrators cannot stop a larger organized effort towards conservatism. Perhaps the answer comes back to the concept of "latent openness." That is, by allowing such activities to occur, there is the illusion that both the government and the school system are open and responsive to current needs and change presses, when in a larger perspective, nothing is changed.

Personnel

In addition, we might consider the individuals who staff and attend WHS and CHUM. While this study did not attend to individual differences (an area for future research), we cannot overlook the individual psychology of those involved. Thus, for CHUM staff, it was noted that they present an image of "hipness," youth, liberalness, mildly elite and promoters of

social good and change. Moreover, they are upwardly mobile; i.e., they are individuals who seek larger goals such as faculty participation in EU, credibility with professional groups, respect and power with community agencies and so on. Almost all CHUM staff have an opportunity to fulfill these goals only through CHUM activities and for the first time here.

Those who choose to be public school teachers and administrators have been described by others (cf. Sarason, Coleman, etc.). Essentially these are people who either choose to educate and socialize youth by methods they have experienced, or who are dedicated to somehow changing these methods. In either case, they are within an organization which enables them to have a certain amount of power over others (e.g., students). Furthermore, they participate in a structure within which they can operate and not have to cope with the anxiety of being alone-in-the-world and trying to accomplish goals totally by oneself. That is, the organization fulfills a host of needs which are often unstated and unrecognized. Threats to this security are profound and often not rationally articulated.

Given this cursory cultural and psychological description, we then add the non-rational covert dynamics of groups and systems presented earlier, and begin to approach some of the politics of change. It is possible to view these events from a host of perspectives. In this study, we have chosen boundary events as a point of reference because it is within these regions that many of the conflicting factors interact. This is not to say that, for example, those more distant from the boundary are less affected. Instead, it does suggest that those with boundary roles are more directly confronted with these dilemmas. A group designated as change

agents and which participates in inter-system events, is in such a boundary role. We have explored issues and events encountered by such a group in the hope of facilitating future efforts at this work.

The implications from our observations presented in this analysis of the politics of change extend to those in the next section on intervention (this interplay is true for all the section divisions in this chapter). Thus, we can now identify the significant need for consulting staff and participants in the training to be integrated better with their own group; this means a clear definition of role and identity within the functional groups.

For the interventionists (i.e., consulting staff) per se, this clarity of role and integration in the consulting system cited above, would allow such members to be more secure in their functioning and therefore enjoy increased freedom within the clearly established boundaries of their roles. We discussed the various organizational, team, and training philosophy changes experienced by the CHUM staff. That is, if their own role boundaries are clear and secure, they are then freer to devote their energies to task performance within these limits.

Another observation-implication in this case study cites the need for more skillful interventionists. This would mean consultants who were more clear about their own boundaries, more clear about the importance of boundary maintenance and the implications of structure, authority, delegation, roles, goals and so on. In addition, the issues of contract setting, diagnosis, port of entry, and the like, would need to be more clear than they were to these interventionists. The issues of goals and

objectives of the particular groups and the overall training never seemed clear to the CHUM staff and thus could not be clarified for the clients. Singer et al. (1972) have provided a conceptual framework for articulating these goals and objectives for various group endeavors based on the task of the group and the level of analysis. Such a framework would be one approach to clarifying the goals and objectives for training.

Intervention

The events described in this case study are not unique to this particular intervention. In fact, it is hoped that the issues discussed are sufficiently broad to cover a range of consulting situations. This is one of the purposes of field research as stated in Chapter II.

The emphasis of this analysis has been structural. That is, we have attempted to relate non-rational and covert processes to structures established before, during and after the intervention. Thus, we examined the difficulties in boundary management, leadership in crossing boundaries, task performance and its relationship to sentience, and role performance during change. Our emphasis on structure is based on a theory of open systems that has been developed throughout. This theory postulates that structure of smaller units is determined by that of larger units, the culture of the system, individuals, and by task; that non-rational processes are, in turn, determined in large part by these factors.

Such a viewpoint has implications for systems intervention. That is, to attempt to intervene in a social system means to consider cultural, structural, functional and individual elements of functioning. In terms of analysis or diagnostic work, especially, structural aspects have been

underexplored in published accounts. Instead, considerable description and intervention is more typically devoted to issues such as trust, mutual respect, caring, etc., among staff and across status groups. Our theory states that these issues, while critical for well functioning organizations, are in themselves, insufficient data; i.e., these process issues are necessary, but not sufficient. Moreover, if we approach systems with the notion that structure and process are interdependent, we cannot, then, limit ourselves to one without understanding its roots and effect on the other.

More specifically, current systems intervention (OD) in its emphasis on conscious, overt phenomena negates the depth of individual and social motivation. All too often an interventionist will assign conscious decision making strategies to a large group and not take into account the structural, covert and non-rational elements which impeded such a group from establishing these practices themselves. An alternative, then, would be to intervene at the structural level. For example, in a large group meeting such as that described in Chapter VII, an interventionist might comment on the role diffusion and lack of boundary maintenance (not in those terms, of course) rather than on the lack of trust or unwillingness to take individual responsibility. Another route, although more costly in the short run situation, but more instructive for long term learning, would be to state some of the unaware, non-rational fantasies aroused by the chaos and size of the group.

In the end, what this study points toward is an awareness of social structure in systems intervention; to make overt, those covert dynamics

which impede task performance; to understand the interplay of structure and process. To this end, we have used boundary events as only one structural construct to demonstrate the power of such a perspective.

Interestingly, a by-product of this study is the role of a third party in inter-systems interaction. Namely, the EU consultant who mediated between CHUM and W. Since he had no authority in either system, it is significant to note that he was relegated primary responsibility for boundary maintenance for both. This procedure was never questioned by either agency and thus represents again a collusion. We do not know what would have happened if either or both CHUM and W were to confront the implications of this procedure. Clearly his role allowed for things to progress; in the end, he became the target and repository of all anger, frustration and other dysphoric outcomes. Perhaps the role of a boundary person with no authority in either system will emerge as a useful facilitation for future interventions. On the other hand, we might consider how much data for learning, future work and growth was lost to either CHUM or W by establishing such a role. It would seem, for example, that if there were no EU consultant, CHUM would have had to clarify its internal functioning to designate clearer roles and boundary authority.

In any event, there needs to be someone individually responsible for the management of the boundary region between the two interacting systems. Moreover, our findings indicate that such a person would be better equipped to perform this role if he or she is securely bounded in an organizational role within either, neither, or both systems. That is, it is better to have a clearly bounded person in this role. Other-

wise, his own role enactment, presentation to those in either system of his authority and responsibilities cannot be kept clear.

Another aspect of this boundary region between systems points to the need to establish a team of change agents that embodies members from both within the client system and outside it. As we have mentioned many times, Alderfer (op. cit.) suggests this team of insiders and outsiders is a way to overcome several of the difficulties of re-entry, diagnosis, goal planning, and so on.

Another set of issues in systems consultation has been articulated in this study; this includes a heightened awareness of the covert dynamics in the several stages of the intervention. That is, we have explored the collusion of both the consulting and client systems to keep boundaries vague, to cloud the selection procedures, to keep contracts unspecific, to sacrifice task for sentience, and so on. At this point, we can simply state that those of us involved in systems intervention need to be aware of such pulls within ourselves and our clients. With this heightened awareness perhaps we can avoid engaging in such collusion in future work. Thus, by beginning to be clear about structural phenomena such as boundaries, we can be more clear in the tasks we set for ourselves such as diagnosis, organizational development, and so on.

Yet another significant observation in this case study is the resistance encountered in re-entry. In many ways there is a parallel between the issues which emerged during early TG boundary development and those at re-entry. Although only speculative at this point (again, for

future research), intervention early in the selection and group formation stage may have precluded some of the later problems. For example, the marked dependence of the school members on the central administration in conducting the selection might have been challenged. Another possibility would have been to make overt the covert stereotyping and mythification of the TG and of the process of "change." Again, these are speculations and not exhaustive possibilities; the emphasis, instead, being the recognition of the parallels with an implication noted for future intervention.

While there are many other issues which arose during this intervention (both included in this study and not), we will not attend to them for purposes of establishing some limits to this paper. At this juncture, however, there is an additional perspective which haunts this author and others actively engaged in social action and research. Namely, can change be accomplished in traditional systems? That is, is it feasible to effect structural and functional changes by working within a large, sanctified institution such as a public school system? Sarason (1971) repeatedly notes that the more things change, the more they remain the same. Surely, on the level of WHS at the time of this writing, little or no change derived from this intervention. Was this due to inadequate intervention skill, resources, and so on? Was it because the processes underlying events were not adequately handled? Are the "politics" as discussed earlier in this chapter so powerful that such small efforts do not have enough influence? These are difficult, if not disheartening and crippling questions. The answers, at this writing, depend more on belief and political perspectives rather than on existing systematic analyses.

A compromise evolved during this intervention which contains implications for the answers to the above questions, as well as for other planned social action programs. That is, while within WHS little was accomplished, the TG was able to move outside the boundaries of the HS and become participants in a group composed of representatives from the JHS's, the HS, the central administration and the two town agencies; i.e., the steering committee. Once this organizational boundary was crossed, members were freer to take more individual responsibility for task performance, commitment increased and, in fact, more was accomplished. Students, teachers and administrators related more symmetrically. The implication from this observation, therefore, is that leadership within a group trained to be internal change agents needs to consider ways of allowing and establishing sufficient freedom from internal role and structural constraints. This implies, then, fostering the establishment of clear leaders responsible for such boundary crossing. Such a step can allow for change strategy to take place without being so remote as at a residential training center or so close as to be lost in the highly ritualized and rigid existing structures.

Another implication of this research is in support of Alderfer's suggestion of forming a team of change agents that contains members from both within and outside the client system. This would facilitate the freedom cited above, enhance the ability to operate outside the existing boundaries of the client system and assist in maintaining more symmetrical relationships within such a group.

Implications for Future Research

This case study, from the onset, was intended to be a field study of the process of systems consultation. As such, it was not designed to be an hypothesis testing study. Instead, it was meant to be descriptive of the processes observed, of the structures involved, and of the interaction of these two broad areas of constructs. This is not to say that there was no formal intent of the study. It was meant to be an intensive clinical study and inductive investigation to discuss, describe and conceptualize boundary events and the process of change. This, in turn, led to a clarification of concepts and to linking these to field observations. Finally, implications were drawn to enhance our working theory of open systems and to increase our skills as systems interventionists.

There is little doubt, however, that many of the observations, interpretations and implications are indeterminately biased. The more objective approaches to this information were not as useful for our analyses as had been anticipated. Part of the difficulty of this case study is that it was conducted under enormous initial time pressure, not unlike other field research. That is, there was little time to prepare more thoughtful instruments, to anticipate some of the issues that would emerge, to approach the entire endeavor in a more systematic and organized fashion.

While some of these difficulties are reflective of the state of the art of field research at the present time, other sources are evident as well. One of these can be understood in systems terms: The author, as well as the rest of the research team on this project, were members of the CHUM staff. As such, we participated in many of the system dynamics replete throughout CHUM. One of these, for example, was to continually

function under remarkable stress of time pressures, lack of financial resources, lack of adequately trained staff, inadequate information about trainees or their specific needs, and so on. Some of these issues are "reality" based; others, however, were within reach of our exercising greater control and limiting some of the mitigating effects. In sum, the present study in its stance and reported outcomes, in part was limited by these systems issues at CHUM.

In many ways, though, the results of this investigation are encouraging and fruitful for further areas of study. By not having predetermined the specific areas of structure and functioning, the author was exposed to many aspects that would have been lost. While this meant increased difficulty in presenting the information, it also meant discovering fertile areas for future research.

Each of the interpretations and implications stated in Chapter VII can now become an hypothesis for more rigorous research. Thus, we need to more objectively and more specifically investigate the stated implications for open systems theory and intervention. In a similar way, each of the postulates stated in this summary chapter (indicated by underlinings) is now a statement to be tested by more laboratory type methods utilizing control groups, refined measurement instruments, and so on. Similarly, each of the suggestions for improving the intervention technology can be validated by systematically introducing them into future action-research projects. For example, the suggestion that a team of insiders and outsiders might improve outcome and mediate some of the difficulties encountered in this intervention can be studied by creating such a team in

the next CHUM intervention. (Note. This has already been partly established as a result of this study and its feedback to CHUM staff.)

There is also a need to return to Windyville and to determine any additional events that have occurred since this investigation. One of the severe limits of this study is its scope of time. Changes and processes of the order under study here are long range and slow acting. We might discover now, or in two years, that structural and functional changes have emerged that we could not observe at this time.

Finally, a word about separating research of this sort from the intervention proper. It was our decision to make a clear separation of the research team and the consulting team. The advantages of this approach, it was believed, were that it would allow for a more objective stance on the part of the researchers, would increase the clarity of our task, and would allow a freer interchange with both sides of the intervention. In many ways, each of these was realized. The cost, however, was significant. First, by attempting to be more objective, distant and scientific in our role, we frequently became a confounding variable both for our own areas of concern and for the interventionists. Further, we learned a significant amount about the client system that would have been useful for intervention efficacy, but because we were separated by our role boundaries we were limited in our ability to transmit this information to the other staff at CHUM or to put any of these insights into a useful feedback loop.

The resolution of which stance to take, separate from or integrated with the actual intervention team, cannot be decided here. It is this

author's belief, however, that since in doing systems intervention it is not actually possible or advisable to separate reflection and action, diagnosis and intervention, that it is equally compromising to make a split between the evaluative and intervention aspects. If the research had been designed as a more formal, hypothesis testing activity, then it would be less an issue. For this type of descriptive, theory building study, however, the resolution is less clear.

January 26, 1972

We are engaged in an intensive project, looking at some of the possible effects and uses of consultation services with schools. This part of the study at W High School is being conducted by researchers from University, , with the full cooperation and approval of the relevant town high school administrative personnel.

To do this part of the study, we have selected a number of teachers, students, and administrators, including yourself, whom we are asking to help us by filling out the enclosed forms. Each person asked was chosen randomly, that is, from a grouped listing of names, your name was chosen completely by chance. We would like you to take the time to fill out these forms.

All information we collect from you is confidential; it will only be looked at in terms of groups of students, administrators, and teachers. The questionnaires are anonymous, we do not ask for names, and you should not put them on any of the forms. When you return them, keep the envelope with your name on it.

The information we collect will allow us to have a baseline picture with which we can compare later results to look for change. The forms have two basic sections: 1) questions on drug programs and drug problems in the school and 2) questions on school life, teaching, and the school environment.

Please try to answer each question as honestly and accurately as possible and please try to answer each question. If you find a question unclear or foolish, please try to answer it anyway, before deciding to skip it. Feel free to add comments on any parts of the forms. The instructions for each section or question precede the items.

We thank you in advance for your time and help. The results of the study should be beneficial to both the school and to us in our work.

Steven

William

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

While we do not need to know who you are or your name, it would help us to have some basic background information about you. Please check below the answers that describe you.

1. Age: ☐ 14 ☐ 17
 ☐ 15 ☐ 18
 ☐ 16 ☐ 19
2. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female
3. Grade: ☐ Freshman ☐ Junior
 ☐ Sophomore ☐ Senior
4. Extracurricular activities: In what school activities outside of classes are you involved?

5. What are your plans for after graduation from High School?
 (circle whichever apply)
 - a. do not plan to graduate
 - b. find a full time job
 - c. enter the armed services
 - d. be married
 - e. will go to college
 - f. will go to a technical school
 - g. will go to a business school
 - h. other (specify) _____

DRUGS AND THE SCHOOL

This section of the questionnaire asks for your opinions and knowledge about a number of areas related to the drug problem as it may or may not apply to this school. Each question or set of questions has its own answering instructions.

1. What percentage of students in this school do you think have ever used or tried the following drugs. (Please answer in percentages, eg. 0%, 5%, 16%, 50% or whatever your guess)

Alcohol	_____
Marijuana or Hash	_____
Psychedelics	_____
Amphetamines	_____
Barbiturates	_____
Heroin	_____

2. Looking back over the last few years, do you think drug use among students in this school is mostly increasing or decreasing? (Circle the best number.)

	Mostly Decreasing 1	Decreasing a little 2	No Change 3	Increasing a little 4	Mostly Increasing 5
Drug use in general	1	2	3	4	5
Alcohol	1	2	3	4	5
Marijuana	1	2	3	4	5
Psychedelics	1	2	3	4	5
Amphetamines & Barbiturates	1	2	3	4	5
Heroin	1	2	3	4	5

3. Compared to what you know or guess about other schools, do you think drug use among students in this school is a serious problem. (Circle one number)

Very serious 5 4 3 2 1 not serious

4. Have you ever taken part in a drug education program in this school? (Please check all that apply.)

_____ There is no program in this school.
 _____ No, even though there is one.
 _____ Yes, one or two lectures a year.
 _____ Yes, we talk about drugs in a regular class.
 _____ Yes, in a special course about drugs.
 _____ Yes, in a special group.
 _____ Yes, other. (please explain.) _____

5. In your opinion, how important are each of the following factors as reasons students in this school use drugs? Circle one for each.

	Very Important		Not Important
Boredom	3	2	1
Curiosity, adventure	3	2	1
Rebellion	3	2	1
Need to escape	3	2	1
Peer group pressure	3	2	1
Alienation	3	2	1
Pleasure, Fun	3	2	1
Desire to be "cool"	3	2	1
Search for values	3	2	1
Dissent	3	2	1
Excitement	3	2	1
Psychological problems	3	2	1

6. In this school, what actually happens to a student who is found to be using the following drugs? Please check at least one thing for each drug, according to what you think happens even if you are not sure. Check all that apply.

Marihuana or Hash	Amphetamines Barbiturates	Psychedelics (LSD, Mescaline etc.)
----------------------	------------------------------	--

The person finding out discusses it with the student and nothing else happens.

The student is sent to the school nurse.

The student is sent to a guidance counselor.

The student is sent to a youth worker or social worker.

The student is sent to a knowledgeable teacher.

The student is sent to the principal's office.

The student's parents are notified.

The police are notified.

The student is sent to some professional agency which handles drug problems.

The student is suspended or expelled.

Other. (Please explain.)

Don't know.

7. What do you think should happen to a student found to be using the following drugs. Please check all that apply for each drug.

	Marijuana or Hash	Amphetamines Barbiturates	Psychedelics (LSD, Mescaline etc.)
The person finding out should discuss it with the student and nothing else happen.	_____	_____	_____
The student should be sent to the school nurse.	_____	_____	_____
The student should be sent to a guidance counselor.	_____	_____	_____
The student should be sent to a youth worker or social worker.	_____	_____	_____
The student should be sent to a knowledgeable teacher.	_____	_____	_____
The student should be sent to the principal's office.	_____	_____	_____
The student's parents should be notified.	_____	_____	_____
The police should be notified.	_____	_____	_____
The student should be sent to some professional agency which handles drug problems.	_____	_____	_____
The student should be suspended or expelled.	_____	_____	_____
The student should be sent to a knowledgeable student.	_____	_____	_____
Other. (Please explain.) _____			
Don't know.	_____	_____	_____

8. Where have you gotten most of your information about drugs?

_____ Friends	_____ Movies
_____ Parents	_____ Books
_____ Brothers or sisters	_____ Family Doctor
_____ School	_____ Other _____
_____ Television or Radio	_____ I don't know anything about drugs
_____ Magazines	

9. In general, why do you think schools have drug education programs? (Check all that apply.)

☐ To find out how many students are using drugs
☐ To find out who is using drugs.
☐ To help students who are using drugs to stop using them.
☐ To prevent students who have never taken drugs from taking them.
☐ To teach students how to think problems through and make decisions that are important to them.
☐ To give all the facts, pro and con, about drugs so that students can decide for themselves.
☐ To let the school think that it is doing something about the drug problem.
☐ Because the state law says they have to.
☐ Other (Please explain) _____

10. What should be done about drugs in this school? Circle one number for each.

	YES	NO
Drug education courses for students	1	0
Make school more interesting	1	0
Better communication among groups.	1	0
Stricter Rules	1	0
Nothing should be done	1	0
Teachers should be trained	1	0

Other _____

11. What should be done about drugs in this town. Circle one number for each.

	YES	NO
More things to do	1	0
Better recreational facilities	1	0
Better communication between groups	1	0
Set up community treatment programs	1	0
Enforce the laws better	1	0
Nothing should be done	1	0

Other _____

12. If a student has a drug problem would his parents typically hold responsible: (rank only three items 1,2,3, in order of responsibility)

☐ a. the school
☐ b. the community
☐ c. their family
☐ d. his friends
☐ e. the student himself
☐ f. themselves

13. If you or a friend were having a problem with drugs, would you look for help from someone in your school?

_____ Yes _____ No

Who in your school would you turn to for help? (Check all that apply, circle your first choice .)

_____ Guidance counselor
 _____ School Nurse
 _____ Teacher
 _____ Student
 _____ Principal or Assistant Principal
 _____ Youth Worker

 _____ Other _____
 _____ There is no one.

Could you give the names of some specific individual you might turn to.

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

14. If you or a friend were having a problem with drugs, who would you turn to for help outside of school?

_____ Relative
 _____ Parents
 _____ Brother or sister
 _____ Clergyman (priest, minister, or rabbi)
 _____ Doctor or hospital
 _____ Friend
 _____ A drug agency (Name: _____)
 _____ Other _____
 _____ There is no one.

15. If you have ever used drugs, has your own drug use changed over the last year? Please circle one number.

<u>Decreased</u>		<u>No Change</u>		<u>Increased</u>
1	2	3	4	5

SCHOOL SECTION

In this section we ask for your attitudes and opinions about some aspects of this school. Many of the questions ask for short essay type responses, here you should give more than a yes or no answer. The answering scales and instructions are given with each question. If you need more space, use reverse side of page and write "over."

1. In considering the principal of this school, would you say he is the kind of leader who: (Circle one number for each line.)

is active	1	2	3	is non-directive
has support of the teachers	1	2	3	does <u>not</u> have support of teachers
makes decisions on his own	1	2	3	seeks advice from teachers
has independent authority	1	2	3	is constricted by the Bd. of Ed. policy
will probably be instru- mental in many major changes	1	2	3	will not make major policy changes
cannot influence others' decisions	1	2	3	is persuasive

2. Please rank the following issues in terms of their importance in this school. (1 = most important, to 10 = least important).

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Issue</u>
_____	Absenteeism
_____	Teacher's role in cafeteria
_____	Master Schedule Change
_____	Open Labs
_____	Smoking
_____	Curriculum Changes
_____	Student Appeal Procedures
_____	Behavioral Objectives (PBBS)
_____	Drugs
_____	Other (Specify) _____

3. How much contact do parents of students in this school have with the administration of this school around each of the following areas:

	very much	2	somewhat	1	a little	0	none
Individual students	3	2	1	0			
School Policy	3	2	1	0			
Requests for consultation (i.e., advice, additional services)	3	2	1	0			
Educational goals of this school	3	2	1	0			
Other (specify) _____	3	2	1	0			

4. Circle one choice for each of the following questions.

	very much	2	somewhat	1	a little	0	not at all
Are your parents <u>interested</u> in what goes on in this school?	3	2	1	0			
Are your parents <u>informed</u> about what goes on in this school?	3	2	1	0			
Have they sought advice from teachers in this school?	3	2	1	0			
Have your parents ever had to defend you in this school?	3	2	1	0			
What <u>other</u> contacts have your parents had with this school? (specify.) _____	3	2	1	0			

5. At the present time, the issue of student smoking privileges seems to be significant at your school. If we consider policy decisions about smoking to be a "change" for your school:
 - A. How likely is it that any change will happen? (Circle one)
 - (1) likely (2) maybe (3) not likely
 - B. What would stop this change from happening? Please consider the following areas. (Be as specific as possible.):
 - (a) organizationally: (i.e., limited access to powers; decision making, etc.)
 - (b) resources: (i.e., limited time, materials, personnel, space, etc.)
 - (c) leadership: (i.e., lack of dedicated leaders; ineffective ldrshp; etc.)
 - (d) resistances: (i.e., conservatism; various people opposed; etc.)
 - (e) relations between different groups: (i.e., parents & schl; teachers & students, e
 - (f) other: (please specify)
 - C. What would help this change occur? Consider the following areas:
 - (a) organizationally:
 - (b) resources:
 - (c) leadership:
 - (d) resistances:
 - (e) relations between different groups:
 - (f) other(s): (please specify)

-3-

5. (cont'd.)

D. What three things do you think should be changed at your school?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

E. Select one "change" from your list to answer the following:

1. How likely is it that any change will happen?

2. What would stop this change from happening?

3. What would help this change occur?

6. In ~~Q~~every organization groups form for many different kinds of reasons. That is, different types of people group together naturally (eg., cliques) but not necessarily along lines organizationally established. For example, people might get together on the basis of age, sex, educational philosophy, personal style, etc. If you take a minute and think about it, you might recognize such groups in the student body at this school.

Do you feel part of such a grouping or groupings within the student body?
____ Yes ____ No. If so, describe the basis for the grouping(s).

Describe other relatively distinct groupings that can be identified within the student body (even if you responded "No" above).

As you think about the faculty at this school, what distinct groupings occur to you? Describe these below. Please number each different grouping.

7. In general, are you clear about what responsibilities you have as a student at this school? What are they?

What would you want to change about your responsibilities?

In general, are you clear about what responsibilities the teachers have at this school? What are they?

What would you want changed about the teachers' responsibilities?

In general, are you clear about what responsibilities the administration has? What are they?

What would you want changed about administrator responsibilities?

-6-

Please indicate whether you think each of the purposes below really is emphasized at your school in reality, choosing one of the three options below.

- 1 = This purpose is not emphasized
 2 = This purpose is moderately emphasized
 3 = This purpose is strongly emphasized.

Purpose

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students improve their social and economic status |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students prepare for jobs |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students discover and fulfill themselves as persons |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students discover and develop their intellectual abilities |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to give students specific knowledge and skills |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students gain an understanding and respect for the rules of society |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students get into college |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to prepare students for the work they will face in college |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students develop leadership ability |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students discover and develop their creative abilities |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to encourage students' concern for the needs of others |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to prepare students to plan an active role as citizens |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students from different races to get along together |

9. Now, for the same purposes, please indicate whether you think each purpose should be emphasized at your school, choosing one of the three options below.

- 1= This purpose should not be emphasized
 2= This purpose should be moderately emphasized
 3= This purpose should be strongly emphasized

Purpose

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students improve their social and economic status |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students prepare for jobs |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students discover and fulfill themselves as persons |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students discover and develop their intellectual abilities |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to give students specific knowledge and skills |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students gain an understanding and respect for the rules of society |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students get into college |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to prepare students for the work they will face in college |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students develop leadership ability |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students discover and develop their creative abilities |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to encourage students' concern for the needs of others |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to prepare students to plan an active role as citizens |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | to help students from different races to get along together |

10. In your school in recent years, have there been substantial changes in the following areas?

- 1= Yes, but the change has been for the worse
 2= Yes, and the change has been adequate
 3= Yes, but more change is still needed
 4= No, but changes need to be made
 5= No, there is no need for a change

Area

1	2	3	4	5	the curriculum
1	2	3	4	5	the daily schedule
1	2	3	4	5	the yearly schedule
1	2	3	4	5	rules and regulations
1	2	3	4	5	extracurricular activities
1	2	3	4	5	athletics or physical education
1	2	3	4	5	teaching techniques
1	2	3	4	5	student government
1	2	3	4	5	counseling
1	2	3	4	5	drug education
1	2	3	4	5	sex education
1	2	3	4	5	relations between the ethnic and racial groups
1	2	3	4	5	buildings and grounds
1	2	3	4	5	teacher-student relations
1	2	3	4	5	off campus programs
1	2	3	4	5	administrator-student relations

12. In general, how good is the communication or personal relationships between the following persons or groups at your school?

- 1= very poor
 2= fairly poor
 3= fairly good
 4= very good

1	2	3	4	student leaders with other students
1	2	3	4	students with other students
1	2	3	4	students of one race with students of another
1	2	3	4	teachers with students
1	2	3	4	teachers with other teachers
1	2	3	4	administrators with students
1	2	3	4	administrators with teachers
1	2	3	4	parents with the school

13. If you felt you needed advice in any of the following areas, who would be the one person in each area you would most likely turn to first for advice? (Teachers and administrators - omit this item.)

Person I would turn to first

- 1= teacher
 2= school counselor
 3= parent
 4= someone my own age
 5= doctor or clergyman
 6= I would try to solve the problem by myself

1. In general, how much say or influence do you feel each of the following groups has on how your school is run?

- 1= little or no influence
 2= some influence
 3= a great deal of influence

1	2	3	teachers
1	2	3	students
1	2	3	the principal
1	2	3	the school board
1	2	3	graduates and alumni
1	2	3	the public
1	2	3	parents
1	2	3	superintendent's office

1	2	3	4	5	6	<u>Area</u> trouble in adjusting to the school
1	2	3	4	5	6	advice about college admission
1	2	3	4	5	6	trouble with classwork
1	2	3	4	5	6	relations with the opposite sex
1	2	3	4	5	6	personal problems
1	2	3	4	5	6	choosing an occupation
1	2	3	4	5	6	trouble with reading or study skills
1	2	3	4	5	6	finding a job during school
1	2	3	4	5	6	solving financial problem
1	2	3	4	5	6	finding a job after graduation
1	2	3	4	5	6	ethical or moral problems

Classroom Environment Scale
Form D

General Instructions

On the following pages are statements about high school classes and shops. You are to decide which of these statements are true about this particular class or shop, and which are false.

TRUE: If you feel a statement is mostly true about the class you are now in, fill in the first space on the proper row of your answer sheet.

Example: 151. ~~1~~ // // // //

FALSE: If you feel a statement is mostly false about the class you are now in, fill in the second space on the proper row of your answer sheet.

Example: 152. // ~~1~~ // // //

Please Remember:

- A. Choose the best answer you can for each item; do not skip over any items in this booklet.
- B. Record your answers only on your answer sheet. Do not mark on or write in this booklet.
- C. Please fill in only one space in each row. Do not mark or write on any other parts of your answer sheet.

- | | | | |
|---|---|-----|---|
| T | F | 1. | There is a clear set of rules for students to follow. |
| T | F | 2. | Students enjoy working together on projects in this class. |
| T | F | 3 | The teacher takes a personal interest in students |
| T | F | 4. | Students in this class aren't very interested in getting to know other students. |
| T | F | 5. | Students have very little to say about how class time is spent. |
| T | F | 6. | The teacher thinks up unusual projects for students to do. |
| T | F | 7. | Almost all class time is spent on the lesson for the day. |
| T | F | 8. | The teacher makes a point of sticking to the rules he's made. |
| T | F | 9. | If a student breaks a rule in this class, he's sure to get in trouble |
| T | F | 10 | Students don't always have to stick to rules in this class. |
| T | F | 11 | Students are expected to stick to classwork in this class. |
| T | F | 12 | Students are expected to follow set rules in doing their work. |
| T | F | 13 | Some students always try to see who can answer questions first. |
| T | F | 14. | Students can choose where they sit |
| T | F | 15 | Students enjoy helping each other with homework |
| T | F | 16. | Very few students take part in class discussions or activities. |
| T | F | 17 | Students put a lot of energy into what they do here |
| T | F | 18. | Sometimes the teacher embarrasses students for not knowing the right answer. |
| T | F | 19. | A student's grade is lowered if he gets homework in late. |
| T | F | 20. | Students don't have much of a chance to get to know each other in this class. |
| T | F | 21 | We often spend more time discussing outside student activities than class-related material. |
| T | F | 22. | A lot of students "doodle" or pass notes. |
| T | F | 23. | Students get in trouble if they're not in their seats when the class is supposed to start. |

- T F 24. The teacher hardly ever has to tell students to get back in their seats.
- T F 25 There are very few rules to follow
- T F 26 Rules in this class seem to change a lot
- T F 27 Students don't do much work in this class
- T F 28 Students do the same kind of homework almost every day
- T F 29 This teacher "talks down" to students.
- T F 30 It takes a long time to get to know everybody by his first name in this class.
- T F 31 Grades are not very important in this class.
- T F 32 Students in this class get to know each other really well.
- T F 33 This teacher spends very little time just talking with students.
- T F 34 New ideas are always being tried out here.
- T F 35 We usually do as much as we set out to do.
- T F 36 The teacher explains what will happen if a student breaks a rule.
- T F 37 The teacher is not very strict.
- T F 38 The teacher often has to tell students to calm down.
- T F 39 Assignments are usually clear so everyone knows what to do.
- T F 40 This is a well-organized class.
- T F 41 Students are almost always quiet in this class.
- T F 42 It's easier to get in trouble here than in lot of other classes
- T F 43 Whether or not students can get away with something depends on how the teacher is feeling that day
- T F 44 If a student misses class for a couple of days, it takes some effort to catch up
- T F 45 What students do in class is very different on different days
- T F 46 In this class, students are allowed to make up their own projects.

- T F 47 The teacher is more like a friend than an authority
- T F 48 Students sometimes present something they've worked on to the class.
- T F 49 Students daydream a lot in this class.
- T F 50 This class hardly ever starts on time.
- T F 51 A lot of friendships have been made in this class.
- T F 52 There are set ways of working on things.
- T F 53 Students try hard to get the best grade.
- T F 54 The teacher explains what the rules are.
- T F 55 The teacher will put up with a good deal.
- T F 56 These are groups of students who don't get along in class.
- T F 57 Getting a certain amount of classwork done is very important in this class.
- T F 58 If students want to talk about something this teacher will find time to do it.
- T F 59 Some students in this class don't like each other.
- T F 60 Students have to work for a good grade in this class.
- T F 61 This teacher wants to know what students themselves want to learn about.
- T F 62 The teacher will kick a student out of class if he acts up.
- T F 63 Students don't feel pressured to compete here.
- T F 64 Activities in this class are clearly and carefully planned.
- T F 65 This teacher does not trust students.
- T F 66 Students fool around a lot in this class.
- T F 67 Students can get in trouble with the teacher for talking when they're not supposed to.
- T F 68 Students aren't always sure if something is against the rules or not.
- T F 69 This teacher often takes time out from the lesson plan to talk about other things

- | | | | |
|---|---|----|--|
| T | F | 70 | New and different ways of teaching are not tried very often in this class. |
| T | F | 71 | Students here don't care about what grades the other students are getting |
| T | F | 72 | The teacher goes out of his way to help students |
| T | F | 73 | It's easy to get a group together for a project. |
| T | F | 74 | Sometimes the class breaks up into groups to compete with each other |
| T | F | 75 | A lot of students seem to be only half awake during this class. |
| T | F | 76 | Students are often "clock-watching" in this class. |
| T | F | 77 | The teacher likes students to try unusual projects. |
| T | F | 78 | The teacher sticks to classwork and doesn't get sidetracked. |
| T | F | 79 | In the first few weeks the teacher explained the rules about what students could and could not do in this class. |
| T | F | 80 | Students usually pass even if they don't do much. |
| T | F | 81 | Students have to watch what they say in this class. |
| T | F | 82 | This class is often in an uproar. |
| T | F | 83 | Most students in this class really pay attention to what the teacher is saying |
| T | F | 84 | Students don't compete with each other here. |
| T | F | 85 | The teacher is consistent in dealing with students who break rules. |
| T | F | 86 | Students don't interrupt the teacher when he's talking |
| T | F | 87 | When the teacher makes a rule, he means it. |
| T | F | 88 | Students sometimes do extra work on their own in this class. |
| T | F | 89 | Students really enjoy this class. |
| T | F | 90 | This class is more a social hour than a place to learn something |

The next six questions ask what you feel in general about this class and this school. Please notice that you have a choice of five different answers for each question, depending on how you feel.

Below each question are five different possible answers. Find the answer which best describes how you feel about each question, and fill in the proper row on your answer sheet.

For example, question 91 asks how you feel about this school. If you are "very satisfied," fill in the first space of row 91 on your answer sheet. If you are "very dissatisfied," fill in the fifth space of row 91. If you are neither "very satisfied" nor "very dissatisfied" with this school, find the description which is closest to how you feel and fill in the second, third, or fourth space on your answer sheet.

If you have any questions about how to answer these items, please raise your hand so the scale administrator can assist you.

91. In general, how satisfied are you with this school?

very satisfied	somewhat satisfied	neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	somewhat dissatisfied	very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

92. In general, how satisfied are you with this class?

very satisfied	somewhat satisfied	neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	somewhat dissatisfied	very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

93. How much do you like the other students in this class?

I like them very much	I like them some	I neither like nor dislike them	I dislike some	I dislike them very much
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

94. In general, how satisfied are you with the teacher of this class?

very satisfied	somewhat satisfied	neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	somewhat dissatisfied	very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

95. How much actual material do you feel you're learning in this class?

very much	more than average	about average	less than average	very little
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

96. In general, how satisfied are you with the way this class is taught?

very satisfied	somewhat satisfied	neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	somewhat dissatisfied	very dissatisfied
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

The next five questions ask about different moods you might feel when you're in this class. You have a choice of five possible answers for each question again on these next questions. For each question, find the answer which comes closest to how you usually feel in this class, then fill in the proper row on your answer sheet. In other words, please answer these questions in the same manner as you answered the last six questions.

97. How happy do you generally feel in this class?

Very happy	Somewhat happy	Neither happy nor unhappy	Somewhat unhappy	Very unhappy
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

98. How angry do you generally feel in this class?

Very angry	Quite angry	Moderately angry	Slightly angry	Not at all angry
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

99. How anxious do you generally feel in this class?

Very anxious	Quite anxious	Moderately anxious	Slightly anxious	Not at all anxious
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

100. How secure do you generally feel in this class?

Very secure	Somewhat secure	Neither secure nor insecure	Somewhat insecure	Very insecure
1	2	3	4	5
==	==	==	==	==

101. How interested do you generally feel in this class?

Very interested	Somewhat interested	Neither interested nor uninterested	Somewhat uninterested	Very uninterested
1	2	3	4 4	5
==	==	==	==	==

In row 102 of your answer sheet please indicate how old you are today.
Fill in the proper space according to this chart:

14 or younger	15	16	17	18 or older
1	2	3	4	5
===	===	===	===	===

In row 103 of your answer sheet please fill in the first space if you are a boy or the second space if you are a girl.

In row 104 of your answer sheet please indicate your present grade level.
Fill in the proper space according to this chart

8th grade or under	9th grade	10th grade	11th grade	12th grade or over
1	2	3	4	5
===	===	===	===	===

In row 105 of your answer sheet please indicate your best guess about what final grade you will probably receive in this course. Fill in the proper space according to this chart:

A	B	C	D	Fail
1	2	3	4	5
===	===	===	===	===

In addition to questions about this class, we are also interested in how students view themselves. These last thirty items are statements about how people might describe themselves. Please read each statement, and if you feel it is mostly true about you, fill in the first space of the proper row on your answer sheet. If you feel the statement is mostly false about you, fill in the second space in the proper row of your answer sheet. Thus, you should answer these items in the same manner as you answered the first ninety statements about this class.

106. T F I go out of my way to take part in different activities
 (TRUE: ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~)
 (FALSE: ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~ ~~xxx~~)
107. T F I don't ask questions when a guest speaks in class.
108. T F You have to keep things to yourself to get ahead.
109. T F I try not to talk about my ideas with adults any more than I have to.
110. T F I often like to go to different neighborhoods.
111. T F Teachers with different ideas than mine make school confusing
112. T F I don't like doing something until I'm good at it.
113. T F I suggest new ways of doing things in class.
114. T F I don't fit in with new people I meet.
115. T F I give opinions different from my group to make sure all sides
 are heard.
- 116 T F I'm good at cheering people up.
117. T F I let older people do the talking
- 118 T F I have stopped a teacher's lecture to ask a question.
- 119 T F I go out of my way to meet new people on the job.
- 120 T F I'd rather have a teacher explain things than have a class discussion
121. T F I go along with the group rather than argue
- 122 T F I ask a question even when it might seem silly
- 123 T F I don't like to volunteer to work with people I don't know.
- 124 T F I enjoy getting kids from different groups to work together
- 125 T F Most adults can be convinced of the value of my ideas

126. T F I stay by myself when there are people around I don't know.
127. T F I like to think of new things to do in a group.
128. T F I don't take responsibility for what the group does.
129. T F I like to work on a new and hard subject more than I like to study an old one
- 130 T F I like to meet new people as often as I can.
131. T F You can talk seriously to teachers
- 132 T F I don't enjoy trying out for a sport I've never tried before.
- 133 T F I would rather work for somebody else than start my own business
134. T F I don't like to change bosses.
- 135 T F I like to try foreign foods.

APPENDIX B

SURVEY OF STUDENT ATTITUDES
AND USAGE OF VARIOUS DRUGS

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The national concern over the use of hallucinogenic, psychedelic, and addictive drugs by young people has provoked a tremendous response on the part of communities, educators, and parents to "do something about it." Generally, the arguments and proposed solutions contain more fear than fact, more distortion about the nature of varied drugs than dialogue about what they can and cannot do to people and for people, and often a lack of knowledge about the extent to which varied groups of young people indulge in taking varied kinds of drugs. Distinctions between different drugs become blurred, and the polarization between people which often ensues make extremely difficult the task of attacking rationally and meaningfully the job of drug education and the creating of resources to help those young people for whom drugs become a significant problem.

This report is presented to the people of W . . . to students and teachers, parents and administrators -- in the hope that a picture of drug usage and attitudes about drugs, based on information given freely by students in the town, will allow a more rational dialogue on how the school system can enrich the educational and personal experiences of the young people of W . The school system has accepted the responsibility for the determination of the extent and nature of such usage because it wishes to provide students with whatever is necessary in the way of drug education or drug counseling if there is an apparent need for it. The documentation of this need is central to the report.

The report is divided into several parts. The first part discusses how the students who filled out the questionnaire were selected. The second

part summarizes the findings for the students as a whole. Because both high school and junior high school students participated, separate information will be given where appropriate. Included here will be basic demographic information and attitudes of students about people who use various kinds of drugs. The third part deals directly with knowledge, usage, and availability of drugs as evident in student responses. Finally, by separating students on the basis of whether or not they ever used any of the drugs (excluding tobacco and alcohol), we will present some information about differences in attitudes toward self, others, and school between students who report never using any drug and students who have. This latter group includes "experimenters" who may have used any drug only once.

The Student Sample and the Questionnaire

In November, 1970, the parents of a randomly selected sample of 20% of students at W High School and D and W Junior High Schools were contacted by letter. The letter explained that their child had been selected by chance to participate in an anonymous survey of drug usage and attitudes toward drugs and that participation was voluntary. Roughly 550 students ended up participating in the survey.

The questionnaire given the students was one developed by the Center for Survey Research, an adjunct of Mental Health Center at Eastern University. The Center is using essentially the same questionnaire in an ongoing, Federally-funded survey of over 30 high schools and junior high schools in the greater area. It contains questions on knowledge

about drugs, usage of drugs, attitudes toward people who use drugs, self attitudes, and attitudes toward school.

The Validity of the Questionnaire:

Questionnaires were given in such a way as to insure confidentiality of answers of the students and were administered by students from Yale rather than personnel from within the school system. No names of students appeared anywhere on the questionnaire. Thus, the questionnaires were themselves anonymous. Secondly, the questionnaire is constructed in such a way that one can cross-check on the consistency of answers. It can pick out students who, for example, report using a specific drug at one point in the survey and deny using it later on. In such a way, those who chose not to answer consistently can be discarded from the data. These two checks, one administrative and one contained in the questionnaire itself, make us put confidence in our findings.

Demographic Characteristics:

The drug questionnaire was given on December 8, 9 and 10, 1970 to a random selection of approximately 20% of the total population of each of the following schools: W High, S D Junior High and W Junior High. The selection was made by inviting every fifth member on the daily attendance sheet, alphabetically in order and differentiated by sex, to participate; those actually polled were 50% boys, 50% girls in both the high school and junior high schools. Based on the questionnaire, the ethnic origin of the population polled was 97-99% Anglo-American, and religious preference among the schools ranged from 64 to 69% Catholic, 23 to 29%

Protestant, and very few of other religions. Over half (50-67%) stated they attended religious services approximately every week, while 11% went only once or twice a year.

Student Attitudes Toward People Who Use Drugs:

In one part of the questionnaire, students were asked to rate people who use drugs along a number of dimensions. The dimensions included such items as happy-unhappy, very good students-very poor students, and very unpopular-very popular. Table 1 in the Appendix gives the average rating on each of these dimensions for students in the three schools. The findings can be summarized as follows:

All of the attitude dimensions contain one adjective which may generally be considered "good" (e.g. mature) and one "bad" (e.g. childish). In this light, students in both the high school and the junior high schools differentiate three groupings of drugs. First, people who use marijuana tend to be rated in a more positive manner than people using any other of the drugs mentioned in the survey. It is reasonable to surmise that they see the use of marijuana as the least harmful, if harmful at all, of the drugs. This mirrors conventional wisdom and scientific research on the various drugs. Further, along several dimensions students at the high school rate people who use marijuana more favorably than on the junior high school level. Thus, high school students see people who use marijuana as "regular kinds of people," more hardworking, better students, smarter, and more similar to themselves than do students in the junior high schools. Clearly,

the use of marijuana gains "respectability" as students grow older.

On the other side of the coin is heroin, rated by far in the most undesirable manner at both the high school and junior high school level. Again, this reflects an accurate assessment by students in terms of the seriousness of the drug and clearly indicates that students do not rate positively people who use heroin. They do not see it as a "good thing."

People who use barbituates, amphetamines, and L.S.D. tend to be ranked between marijuana users and heroin users. Thus they are not seen in as negative a light as are people who use heroin, nor in as positive a light as people who use marijuana. These three kinds of drugs are grouped because students rate people who use them essentially equally.

Thus from the student attitudes toward people who use drugs, it seems clear that students make important discriminations between people using different kinds of drugs. All drugs are not the same, and the student perceptions generally reflect the current research findings by presenting marijuana in the least harmful light and heroin in the most harmful. One further finding is that, in general, high school students tend to rate people who use any of the drugs somewhat more favorably than do students in the junior high schools. Thus, while none of the groups of drug users are rated very positively, they are seen more positively by the high school students.

Drugs: Perceived Effects, Usage, and Availability

A. Perceived Effects

Students responding to the questionnaire were asked their opinion

as to what effect different kinds of drugs had on their minds and bodies. Tables 2 and 3 in the Appendix list the actual responses expressed in percentages for the high school and the junior high schools. They can be summarized thusly.

Students report that heroin and L.S.D. have the most harmful effect on peoples' minds, while hashish and marijuana were seen as the least harmful. Marijuana was the only drug listed for which a sizeable proportion of students said it was not harmful at all. Many more high school students (51%) saw marijuana as either harmless or good for you, while 25-35% of junior high school students reported the same. Again, there is the distinction between marijuana and the other drugs. In terms of information related to drug education, cocaine, mescaline, and hashish seemed least known in terms of their effects on a person's mind.

Heroin and L.S.D. were also seen as having the most harmful effects on the body, with marijuana seen by over half the high school students as harmless or good for the body. As before, students knew least about the effects on the body of cocaine, mescaline, and hashish. Thus, the response about the effects of drugs on mind and body are essentially identical.

Students were also asked about the illegality of various drugs. Most students knew that all the drugs were illegal, but the highest percentage was found for marijuana, L.S.D. and heroin. Because these are the three most publicized drugs, more may be generally known about them than other drugs, some of which may be equally powerful. Knowledge about these other drugs may be more important because they are less discussed and publicized.

B. Usage

Perhaps the key part of the questionnaire involves the student reporting on the nature and extent of his own usage of various drugs. Before discussing the results of the W survey, some comparative information may be useful. Several other surveys on the high school level have been conducted in the last two years. Most of them focus on questions such as "Have you ever used any drugs?" and "Have you ever used marijuana?" Briefly summarized, they indicate that anywhere from 20 to 47% of high school students have experimented with one drug or another and that the majority of these students were involved with marijuana. Currently, the Center for Survey Research is conducting a survey of over 30 schools in the area and is thus far finding similar data on the high school level. Published reports of a survey in A suggest that about a third of the high school students report using marijuana at least once. Slightly higher figures were recently reported for

The present survey asked three questions about drug usage in an effort to get some idea not only of the extent of experimentation with various drugs but also to gather data on how often or how frequently students use them. We are reasonably certain that for some students, drug usage consists solely of occasional or one-time experimentation, while for others it is more of a regular occurrence. Thus, the three questions dealt with (1) Whether or not the student ever used any of the drugs; (2) How frequently he had used any of the drugs in the last three months; (3) How frequently he has used any of the drugs in the last two weeks.

Figures 1, 2 and 3 in the Appendix show the responses to these three questions in the two junior high schools and in the high school. They can be summarized as follows. First, the junior high schools.

Junior High Schools:

In the junior high schools, drug usage -- with the exception of marijuana -- is reported to be very slight. Use of heroin is virtually nonexistent and for almost all the drugs 5% or less of the students report ever having used any specific drug. There are no marked differences in the kinds of drugs used in the two junior high schools. Marijuana is the most often used drug at this level, with about 8% of the students at S D and 12% of the students at W reporting ever using it. Drug usage in the 3 months preceding the survey is somewhat less, with 5-10% of the students using marijuana and less than 3% of the students using any other drug. Similar figures obtained for the two weeks before the survey, indicated that at any point in time at the junior high schools less than 10% of the students are currently using marijuana and very few are using other drugs. Thus the extent of usage at the junior high school level is small, though there is some usage of drugs.

High School:

The reported figures on drug usage by high school students is, predictably, larger for all kinds of drugs. The percentages of students who report ever using any of the drugs included in the survey go from virtually zero percent in the case of heroin to 29% in the case of marijuana. With the exception of an 18% figure for hashish, most of the drugs

have been ever used by about 10% of the high school students. The three month and two week figures show predictable declines in usage of all drugs, with all drugs except marijuana being used by 5% or less of the students. Students were asked to report how many times they had used each of the drugs. If we define frequent use as more than 20 times, marijuana is again the only drug used consistently by a sizable number of students (11%). This frequent a usage for other drugs is less than five percent for amphetamines, barbituates, and hashish, and virtually none for L.S.D., glue, heroin, or cocaine. A fair summary statement of the above might be that the amount of smoking of marijuana at the high school and the frequency with which it is smoked gives it a position by itself as the most frequently used drug. Coupled with the information presented earlier in the report that students tend to rate people who use marijuana more positively and more like themselves, the data on usage of marijuana supports the popular stereotype of the "youth culture," namely, that marijuana smoking is frequent, perceived as normal rather than deviate, and of a different order than other drugs. While there are some students reporting the use of such drugs as L.S.D. and amphetamines, the frequency of use of the former is very low (e.g. most who use it at all did so only once or twice) and, in the case of amphetamines, about 4% report using it over 20 times.

In sum, the data on the high school suggest a sizable increase in reported usage of drugs over the junior high schools. Still, when this data is compared with that collected on other high schools in Connecticut, the

degree of reported drug use is about average or slightly less than average.

While this is not necessarily encouraging in the sense that a significant amount of drug use is present, it may lend some perspective to the findings.

Availability of Drugs:

While the preceding data describes reported usage, information was also gathered on two aspects of availability of drugs for students in the W schools. The first question was phrased as follows:

"Have you ever been with someone who had one of the following drugs with him and offered to share it with you?" In the junior high schools, the following conclusions were arrived at. About twice as many students reported being offered specific drugs than reported actually using them.

Thus, 25-30% of the students in the two junior high schools report being offered marijuana at least once, and 3-6% report it being offered "very often." The same general ratio holds for the other drugs. The data from the high school follow the same pattern. Over half the students in the high school sample report being offered marijuana at least once. About 6% of the students report being offered the "hard drugs," heroin and cocaine.

A second question was "If you wanted any of the following drugs, would you know where to get it with reasonable safety?" The responses serve to indicate the degree to which there is accessibility to drugs. In the junior high schools, at least 10% of the students said they knew where they could get any drug listed on the questionnaire. 35-40% indicated that they knew where to get marijuana. In the high school, over 70%

of the sample indicated that they could get marijuana and, with the exception of heroin and cocaine, about 30% or more knew where to get all the other drugs mentioned in the survey. It is clear from the responses to this and the previous question that many kinds of drugs are readily accessible and many students are faced with the issue of deciding what to say when someone offers them a drug, usually marijuana.

Peer Groups and Drug Usage

To understand better the way students saw the amount of drug use among their peers, we asked them how many students in their school they knew personally who used each of the various drugs. The results indicate a widespread knowledge among students about whether or not other students ever used drugs. Indeed, at the high school level, only 15% of the students answering the questionnaire stated that they knew no students who ever used marijuana. At the two junior high schools, the comparable figures to this question were 62% and 55%. This supports the earlier finding of much greater marijuana use among high school students. The great discrepancies with all drugs between the junior high schools and the high school point out that it is the high school where people are particularly aware of whether or not friends and acquaintances have used drugs. There is, of course, much more reported drug usage of which to be aware.

Students who reported ever using any drug and students reporting never using any drug: A Comparison

The foregoing pieces of data clarify the nature and extent of student attitudes about people who tend to use various drugs, self-report data on student usage of various drugs, and information on the availability of various drugs and the extent to which students "know about" the presence or absence of drug use in their peers. In this section data is reported comparing on a variety of dimensions students who have ever used any drug with students who say they have never used any drugs. Are people who use drugs at all different from those who do not and, if so, in what way?

Smoking, Drinking and Drug Use

In the sample of students at W only 30% smoke cigarettes as opposed to 60% of their parents 58% of the high school students report drinking wine, beer or liquor with friends outside of their home, while over 80% in all three schools reported that their parents or some older person in their house drinks at least on occasion. Both drinking and smoking is considerably less on the junior high school level.

In the survey questionnaire, the following relationship held among drinking, smoking, and drug use. (1) In all three schools, there is a significant relationship between whether or not a person smokes and whether or not he has ever taken any drugs. That is, students who report taking drugs are more likely to smoke cigarettes than students who have never taken any drugs. (2) In all three schools, there is a relationship between ever taking drugs and drinking outside the home with friends.

(3) In all three schools, ever taking drugs is related to the age at which the student started drinking with friends outside the home. In sum, students who have ever taken drugs began drinking outside of the home at an earlier age. (4) There is no relationship between taking drugs and whether or not parents smoke or drink, though in two of the three schools drug users are allowed to drink in the home more frequently than non-drug users.

The above results indicate a general relationship between drinking, smoking and whether or not a student has ever taken any drug. While these relationships are real ones, it does not follow that students who drink or smoke automatically become drug users, but simply that a general relationship exists. Nor does the "drug use" group differentiate between the majority of students who are "experimenters" with drugs and the minority who use drugs frequently.

Self-Attitudes and Drug Use

It is clear that in some ways students who report ever taking drugs have different attitudes about themselves than non-drug users. On the high school level, such students seem to feel as if they have less control over their fate, are greater risk-takers and thrill-seekers, and have somewhat less good family relationships. They are interested in fewer things in school, and feel that teachers are slightly less understanding. The pattern on the junior high school level is less consistent, but generally students who report ever taking drugs feel that they have worse luck, and are more willing to break rules in school if they can get away with it. As before,

these relationships of self-attitudes to drug use are not tremendously strong. Still, they paint the picture of drug users as generally more alienated from school and family than non-drug users.

Drug Use and Perceived Effects of Drugs

Data from the junior high schools are hard to analyze because of the small numbers of drug users in the sample. The high school picture, however, is very consistent and can be summed up thusly: For every drug in the survey, students who have taken drugs rate drugs as less harmful to the mind and to the body than students who have never taken any drugs

Drug Use and Peer Groups

In the high school and at W , it is clear that students who use drugs know more students at school who use drugs than do students who do not use drugs. In all three schools, however, students who use drugs report having more close friends who use drugs than non-drug users. Thus it appears that while there exists a youth culture which knows a great deal about the availability and number of fellow students in general who have taken drugs, the group of drug users themselves know about and associate more with students who also have used drugs. This is not to imply a series of in-groups based on or centering around drug usage, but simply that peer associations are such that students who take drugs are more likely to have more friends that take drugs than are non-drug users.

Attitudes toward people who use drugs: Drug Group - Non-Drug Group Comparisons

Earlier in the report information was given about the way students in general viewed people who used certain drugs. Here we see if students who actually have used drugs (or at least one drug once) view these people differently than the non-drug group. Several important differences emerge which bear noting. First, in all schools, drug users rate "people who use marijuana" more favorably than non-drug users on almost every dimension. Since most of the students who have taken any drug have taken marijuana, it seems clear that they do not see the using of the drug as reflecting poorly on the user. This is by no means a global defense of drug-taking, however, for both groups, user and non-user, rate people who take heroin the same. As mentioned earlier, this was the most undesirable and destructive drug as seen by students. In general high school students who had used drugs rated more favorably people who took amphetamines and L.S.D., but this was not true in the junior high schools. In brief, the data suggest what has been suggested throughout, that students see marijuana as the least "bad" drug and heroin as the worst, but students who have taken drugs have attitudes about marijuana and marijuana users which are more favorable than those of the non-user.

Attitudes toward school: Drug Group - Non-Drug Group Comparison

Students were asked to rate their attitudes about various aspects of school. Table 4 in the Appendix presents the specific items the students responded to and the way in which they responded. The items were

analyzed to see if drug users answered them any different than non-users. In short, there were many differences. The general picture is one of alienation or apathy about school and the opportunities it presents. Learning is valued less than the functional value of school, and indeed there is less faith in the educational process and its value. While the picture is less strong in the junior high schools, it is clear that students who have used drugs are, as a group, more "turned off" than non-drug users. An examination of Table 4, however, indicates that many students, regardless of whether or not they have taken drugs, are disenchanted with education and its value.

Drug Education Programs: Student Perspective

Students seem somewhat confused as to whether or not a drug education program exists in the schools. Over half of the students at each of the three schools deny the existence of a program at their school, although occasional lectures on drugs may be given. Their most overriding feeling, according to the survey, is that such programs are generally geared toward two objectives: (1) to help students who are taking drugs to stop taking them, and (2) to prevent students who have never taken drugs from taking them. A secondary emphasis is to teach students how to solve their own problems and to teach them how to think problems through and make decisions which are important to them.

On the question of who should be running a drug education program, the responses differed from the high school to the junior high schools. At the high school, the students felt that they themselves should be very

involved, along with the administration and the school social worker or Youth Liaison Counselor. In the junior high schools, the administration and the guidance counselors were seen as the most appropriate people to run the drug education program. All three schools felt that outside personnel or outside agencies could play an important role in addition to the program from within the school system.

Finally, students felt that they were the group who needed drug education the most. Second on the list was their parents.

Conclusion

This report to the school system of W has attempted to spell out the attitudes of students about themselves and their schools as these attitudes relate to the taking of drugs. Before going on to some recommendations based on this extensive survey, a brief recapitulation may be helpful. There are several points which the survey has made quite clear.

(1) Drug usage by students in W High School is sufficient to warrant concern, although average or below average when compared to available data from other towns in Connecticut.

(2) Drug usage in the junior high schools is, with the exception of marijuana, very minimal. The great differences in drug use come about in high school.

(3) All students made clear and consistent distinctions in attitude and behavior (e.g. usage) among three drugs or groups of drugs:

(1) marijuana; (2) L.S.D., amphetamines and barbituates, and (3) heroin. Marijuana is seen in the most positive light, heroin in the least positive, and the others in between.

(4) Students who have taken drugs and students who have never taken drugs differ in several important respects.

(a) Drug users are more likely to have less positive attitudes about themselves, their schools and their families

(b) Drug users are more likely to have more positive attitudes about people who use marijuana, though not people who use heroin

(c) Drug users tend to associate more with peers who have also taken drugs.

(5) Students in the high school feel that they should be an integral part of any drug education program which may develop. At the junior high school, this is less the case.

Recommendations

The school system is in a unique and advantageous position to deal with some of the issues raised by increased drug usage on the part of young people. It not only has the responsibility for the education of students, but it forms the matrix of social and interpersonal experience for children and adolescents. Thus, it is a logical choice for the institution of drug education programs. It is certainly not the only organization or agency with a stake in the issues, but it is a central, perhaps the central one.

What are some of the issues raised by the report? First, the results suggest that there exists at least a moderate amount of drug usage by young people in W , although the amount of experimentation or infrequent usage of any drug far surpasses regular or frequent usage. Further, the data indicate that students who report ever using drugs see the school and themselves in a somewhat less favorable light than students who have never used drugs. It is also apparent that more factual information is available about some drugs than others, including such basic knowledge as whether or not specific drugs are illegal. Taken together, these results suggest the utility of instituting a program of drug education with special emphasis in the schools on the 9th and 10th grades where the increase in usage is greatest.

Given the commitment to drug education, the question is "What kind of drug education will be of greatest educational and personal benefit for students?" In considering the possible options for programs, it should be recognized that any drug program is based on certain assumptions about why people take drugs. Our data indicate that many possible reasons exist, depending on the kind of drug taken and the frequency of usage. For instance, the use of marijuana is clearly seen as less deviant and more "normal" by students than the use of any other drug. Further, a great many students -- probably about half of those reporting having used marijuana -- seem to be "experimenters" or very infrequent users of the drug. While the analogy is not totally accurate, just as there are differences between the person who drinks on occasion and the habitual or "problem" drinker, so, we assume, are there social and psychological differences between "experimenters" and

and habitual drug users. In addition, the evidence that students who have used drugs have, as a group, less positive attitudes toward themselves and their school indicates the use of drugs is related to personal aspects of students. While we have no direct evidence on this point, our hunch is that this is less true with "experimenters" than with more frequent users. It is also important to stress that from our data we cannot say that because students have less positive attitudes toward themselves they are more likely to take drugs. It may be that, having taken drugs, students then think about themselves more negatively because the taking of drugs is often seen as "bad."

The sum total of these findings suggests what kind of drug education program may be particularly helpful. They suggest: (1) that drug education based solely on the presentation of factual material is inadequate as a total program. This is not to say that "knowing the facts" is not essential, but that because some drug usage seems related to personal factors, it is inadequate in some instances; (2) that because there is a strong "peer group" phenomena in the area of drug use, and because it is related to personal attitudes and feelings about school, a program which stresses drug-related issues in the context of an interpersonal approach or a communications approach seems mandated. Further, at the high school level the particulars of such a program should be discussed and worked out in collaboration with students and the Youth Liaison Counselor.

While the long range goals in terms of the town may be seen as increasing co-ordination of services among many agencies who come in contact with young people, the school system itself can institute a drug

education program based on the above information in a reasonably short period of time. Rather than attempting to superimpose the specifics of a program onto a particular school or school system, it may be worthwhile to describe a model program, based on a human relations approach to drug education, which emanates from the CHUM of the Mental Health Center of University.

The CHUM supports a philosophy which stresses both knowledge about the legal and pharmacological aspects of various drugs and training in human relations with an emphasis on understanding individuals and their reasons for involvement with drugs, especially on a frequent or constant basis. They are Federally funded to serve as a training institute for the New England area. Consequently, their training program is offered free of charge to concerned mental health professionals, teachers, administrators and students.

The training program itself is a two week, intensive program which includes several components. First, lectures are given on the legal, psychological, and pharmacological aspects of various drugs. Field trips are taken to agencies or organizations which deal directly with people on drugs (e.g. therapeutic / ^{community}) to gain a better understanding of how different approaches work. A great deal of time is spent in small groups, discussing the participants' own attitudes toward drugs and gaining a better understanding of how to work in small groups as discussion leaders. This diverse program helps equip people with both knowledge and some group work skills.

Last year, the , Connecticut school system decided to adopt such a program. Teachers and guidance counselors selected for having exceptionally good rapport with students attended the CHUM during the summer. They were paid for their time. At the beginning of the school

year, they began meeting on a regular basis with small groups of students in a "Communications Group." The goal was to create conditions for students to talk freely with each other and the faculty member about whatever was on their minds. The trained faculty members had at their disposal various film strips and visual aids about drugs, but more importantly, they had a great deal of accurate information and an ability to talk honestly with students and promote their talking among themselves. These groups have been ongoing throughout the year, and the faculty members are finding themselves important resources, both for the students who wish to talk frankly about drugs and for students who simply want to "get things off their chest."

Most importantly, the training program has made a direct impact on the way that these faculty approach the classroom or the guidance situation by sensitizing them to the personal or interpersonal aspects which influence learning. Thus, the program contributes to the total educational process. An important supplement to this program is weekly consultation with the faculty about the student groups by members of the EU Psycho-Educational Clinic, thus providing continuing training in human relations. This program consequently combines the assets of presenting factual information about drugs in a situation which encourages the flow of discussion relevant to the personal concerns of students. An important part of this program involves supporting as much as possible the involved faculty members. In addition to being paid for their summer time, they are relieved of some ordinary school duties to work with groups of students. Such teachers are important resources for the schools and they deserve explicit support.

This program is presented as one example of a human relations oriented drug education program. It is suggested as a paradigm because the data given by the students in W supports the view that both knowledge about drugs and interpersonal factors are important and relevant in drug education.

Two final points specific to W bear mention, however. First, a significant number of students in the high school feel that they should take an active planning role in determining the structure of a program. Discussions with them on this topic are suggested. Secondly, students feel that, while they are most in need of drug education, parents would also benefit. Exploring the parent concern for drug education either through the students or directly with the parents is also seen as a priority in planning a program.

This concludes the recommendations, based on the results of the survey and the philosophy of the director of the survey, about the development of a drug education program in the W public schools. It is hoped that this report encourages rational discussion of how best to serve the needs of students in the important area of drug education.

TABLE 1

Attitudes Toward People Who Use Drugs

key: WH - W High
 SD - S D Junior High
 WJ - W Junior High

Average ratings on a 7 point scale for students in each school.

People who use _____ tend to be:

Response Dimensions		School	Barbituates	Ampheta- mines	L.S.D.	Mari- juana	Hero- in
Regular kinds of people 1	Way-out people 7	WH SD WJ	4.227 4.733 4.708	4.073 4.848 4.449	4.907 5.404 5.448	2.601 4.086 3.764	5.441 5.722 5.877
very unhappy 1	very happy 7	WH SD WJ	2.871 3.302 3.340	3.203 3.479 3.280	3.008 3.077 2.830	4.422 3.895 3.877	2.535 2.718 2.925
very hardworking 1	very lazy 7	WH SD WJ	4.535 5.081 5.038	4.517 5.479 5.140	4.895 5.436 5.472	4.030 4.784 4.613	5.336 5.525 5.651
very good students 1	very poor students 7	WH SD WJ	4.531 5.155 5.113	4.674 5.485 5.393	4.822 5.487 5.566	4.019 4.834 4.547	5.367 5.605 5.708
very careful about their health 1	very careless about their health 7	WH SD WJ	4.965 5.319 5.311	5.261 5.673 5.607	5.318 5.763 5.755	4.380 5.117 4.962	5.797 5.878 5.991
very mature 1	very childish 7	WH SD WJ	4.727 4.969 5.038	4.644 5.133 5.206	4.748 5.115 5.434	4.323 4.833 4.774	5.203 5.278 5.538
very stupid 1	very smart 7	WH SD WJ	2.957 2.794 2.811	3.195 2.921 2.636	3.062 2.353 2.349	3.741 3.056 3.189	2.621 2.389 2.113
people just like me	people very differ- ent from me 7	WH SD WJ	4.598 5.206 5.000	4.510 5.285 5.056	4.934 5.340 5.368	3.601 4.735 4.453	5.508 5.765 5.726
very unpopular 1	very popular 7	WH SD WJ	3.547 4.069 4.160	4.070 4.244 4.252	3.891 4.146 4.208	4.502 4.352 4.491	3.371 3.696 3.868

TABLE 2

Perceived Effect of Various Drugs on a Person's Mind¹

key: WH - W	High	SD - S	D	Jr. High	WJ - W	Jr. High
Names of Drugs	School	Very Harmful	Somewhat Harmful	Not Harmful	Good for you	I don't know
HEROIN, "H"	WH	78%	12%	1%	1%	8%
horse, smack	SD	78	16			7
scag, stuff	WJ	75	17		1	7
AMPHETAMINES, speed, ups, dexies, bennies	WH	44	42	4	1	9
	SD	40	45	2		13
	WJ	44	37	3		16
COCAINE, coke snow, crystals	WH	36	32	2		30
	SD	32	25	10		36
	WJ	37	31	7		25
MESCALINE, mesc	WH	32	27	5		35
	SD	22	19	1	1	58
	WJ	23	30	2	1	44
GLUE	WH	39	45	6	1	8
	SD	47	41	5	1	6
	WJ	47	45	3		5
LSD, acid	WH	73	17	3	1	5
	SD	79	15	1		5
	WJ	77	15	1	1	6
HASHISH, hash	WH	21	30	22	5	23
	SD	24	32	7		35
	WJ	24	38	12	3	7
MARIJUANA, pot, grass, reefer, joints	WH	9	33	45	6	7
	SD	25	42	22	3	7
	WJ	19	39	32	3	8
BARBITUATES, barbs, downs, goofballs	WH	37	38	6		17
	SD	38	43	5	1	14
	WJ	35	38	7	1	20

¹ Where percentages do not add up to 100, it indicates that the omitted percentage of students did not choose to answer the question. The same holds true for all tables.

TABLE 3

Perceived Effects of Various Drugs on a Person's Body

key: WH · W	High	SD - S	D	Jr. High	WJ - W	Jr. High
Names of Drugs	School	Very Harmful	Somewhat Harmful	Not Harmful	Good for you	I don't know
AMPHETAMINES, speed, ups, dexies, bennies	WH	44%	39%	3%	1%	12%
	SD	46	38	2	1	13
	WJ	40	39	4		16
COCAINE, coke, crystals, snow	WH	33	30	5	1	32
	SD	23	37	4		35
	WJ	35	26	5		34
MESCALINE, mesc	WH	27	27	6	1	37
	SD	22	19	1	1	55
	WJ	23	28	3		45
GLUE	WH	34	34	16		15
	SD	45	32	13	1	10
	WJ	50	30	7		11
LSD, acid	WH	61	22	6		10
	SD	69	23	1	1	6
	WJ	65	23	1		8
HASHISH, hash	WH	20	20	20	2	27
	SD	27	27	6		38
	WJ	29	26	12	2	29
MARIJUANA, pot, gress, reefers, joints	WH	10	27	47	4	11
	SD	26	43	22	2	7
	WJ	25	35	27	3	9
BARBITUATES, barbs, downs, goofballs	WH	38	37	6		18
	SD	41	37	2		19
	WJ	39	27	7	1	25
HEROIN, "H", horse, smack, scag, stuff	WH	76	9	2		12
	SD	76	13	2		9
	WJ	74	15		1	9

TABLE 4

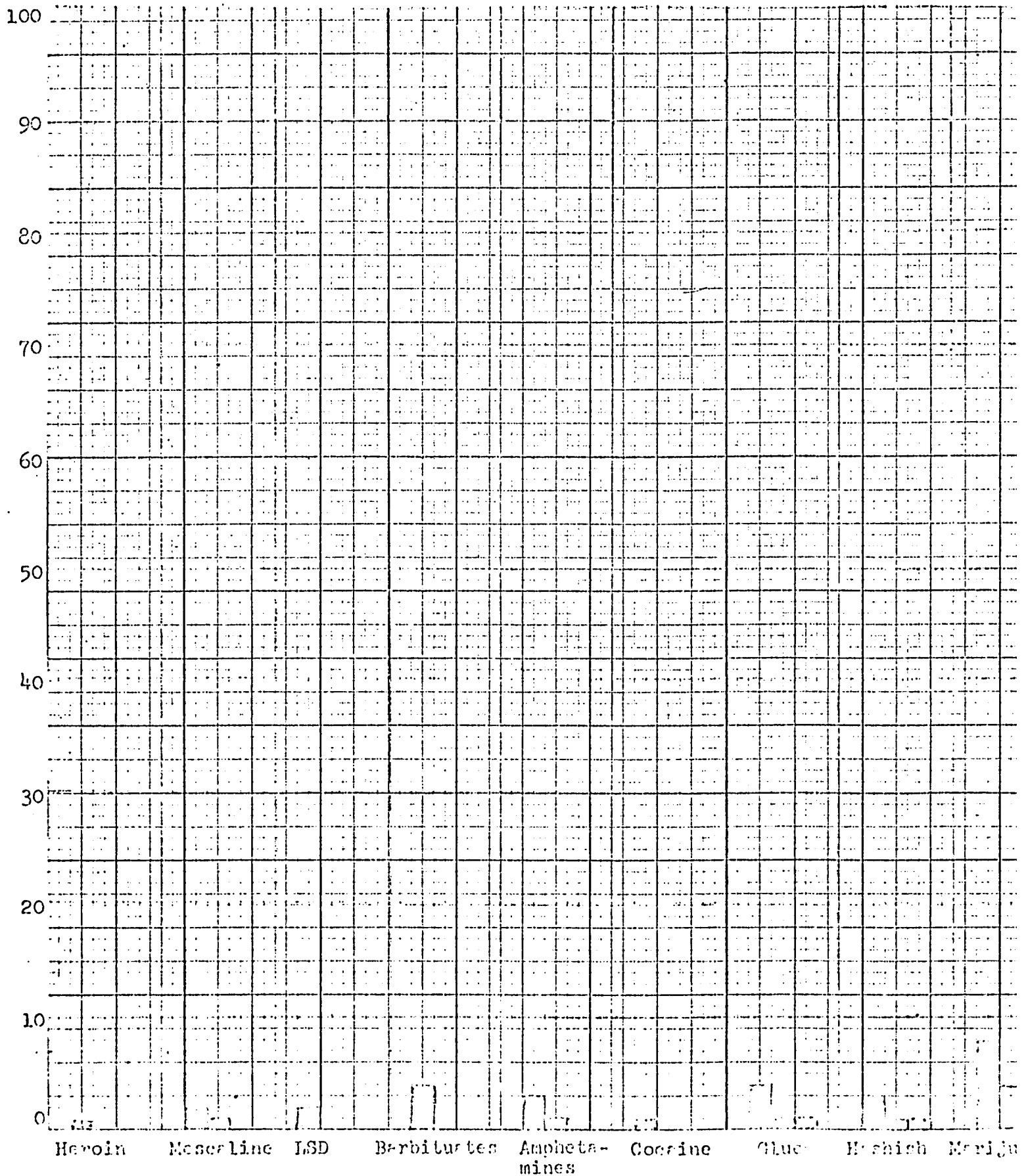
Attitudes Toward School and Education of Students in the Three
Schools

KEY: WH - W High SD - S D Jr. High WJ - W Jr. High

Response Dimensions	School	I FEEL THIS WAY:			
		very much	pretty much	little	not at all
1. Instead of being in this school, I wish I were out working.	WH	42%	35%	15%	7%
	SD	41	32	13	14
	WJ	55	23	13	9
2. Maybe I won't get anything out of school, but I have nothing to lose.	WH	38	28	17	13
	SD	45	20	18	18
	WJ	49	18	11	21
3. I feel satisfied with school because I learn more about things I want to know about.	WH	22	31	29	15
	SD	8	21	39	32
	WJ	10	30	32	27
4. Even if I could get a very good job at present, I'd still choose to stay in school and get my education.	WH	14	15	31	39
	SD	15	11	28	46
	WJ	13	12	30	44
5. I enjoy school because it gives me a chance to learn many interesting things.	WH	21	38	28	10
	SD	12	27	39	21
	WJ	12	28	30	29
6. I think school is important, not only for the practical value, but because learning itself is very worthwhile.	WH	7	20	37	32
	SD	7	15	40	38
	WJ	4	18	38	41
7. School is very boring for me, and I'm not learning what I feel is important.	WH	26	42	13	15
	SD	43	36	10	10
	WJ	41	31	17	11
8. I enjoy being in school because I feel I'm doing something that is really worthwhile.	WH	19	31	34	13
	SD	7	25	35	32
	WJ	9	15	43	32
9. An education is a worthwhile thing in life, even if it doesn't help you get a job.	WH	14	21	33	29
	SD	12	21	33	34
	WJ	12	21	27	40
10. I like school because I am improving my ability to think and solve problems.	WH	13	35	35	11
	SD	4	25	43	26
	WJ	4	29	35	30

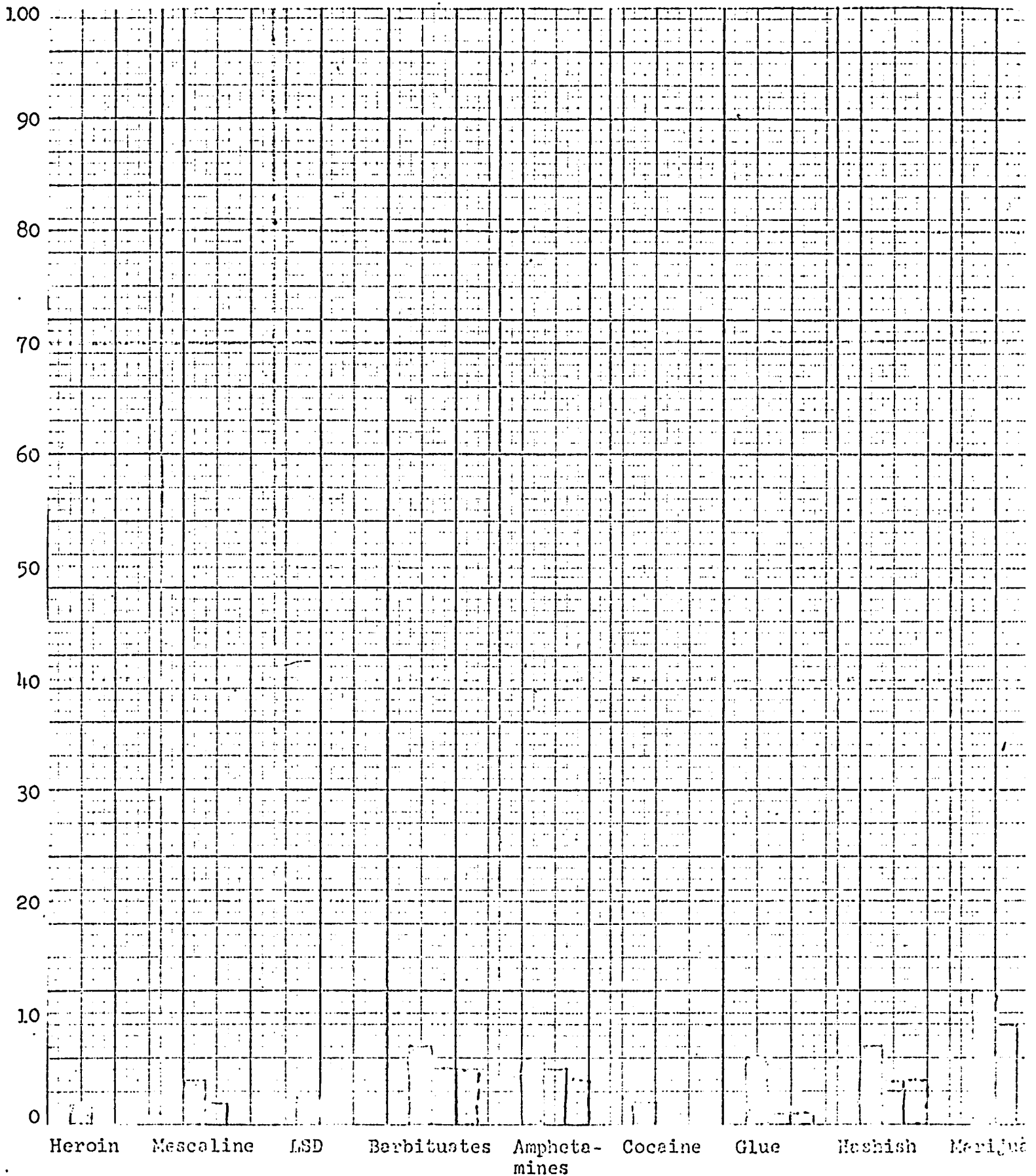
TABLE 4 (cont'd)

Response Dimensions	School	I FEEL THIS WAY:			
		very much	pretty much	a little	not at all
11. I am in school in order to get a job; I don't need the education and training.	WH	45%	27%	14%	5%
	SD	45	26	13	16
	WJ	53	25	9	10
12. I like school because I am learning the things I will need to know to be a good citizen.	WH	26	38	20	8
	SD	7	34	36	22
	WJ	11	27	28	30
13. I feel I can learn more from a very good job than I can here at school.	WH	33	36	15	8
	SD	43	28	14	14
	WJ	55	20	13	10
14. School is satisfying to me because it gives me a sense of accomplishment	WH	19	29	32	14
	SD	8	27	38	26
	WJ	11	22	27	38
15. I feel the things I do at school waste my time more than the things I do outside of school.	WH	36	34	10	13
	SD	49	26	11	13
	WJ	44	32	14	8

Student Drug Usage at D Junior High SchoolKEY: ☒ = Ever Used☐ = In last 3 months☒ = In last 2 weeks

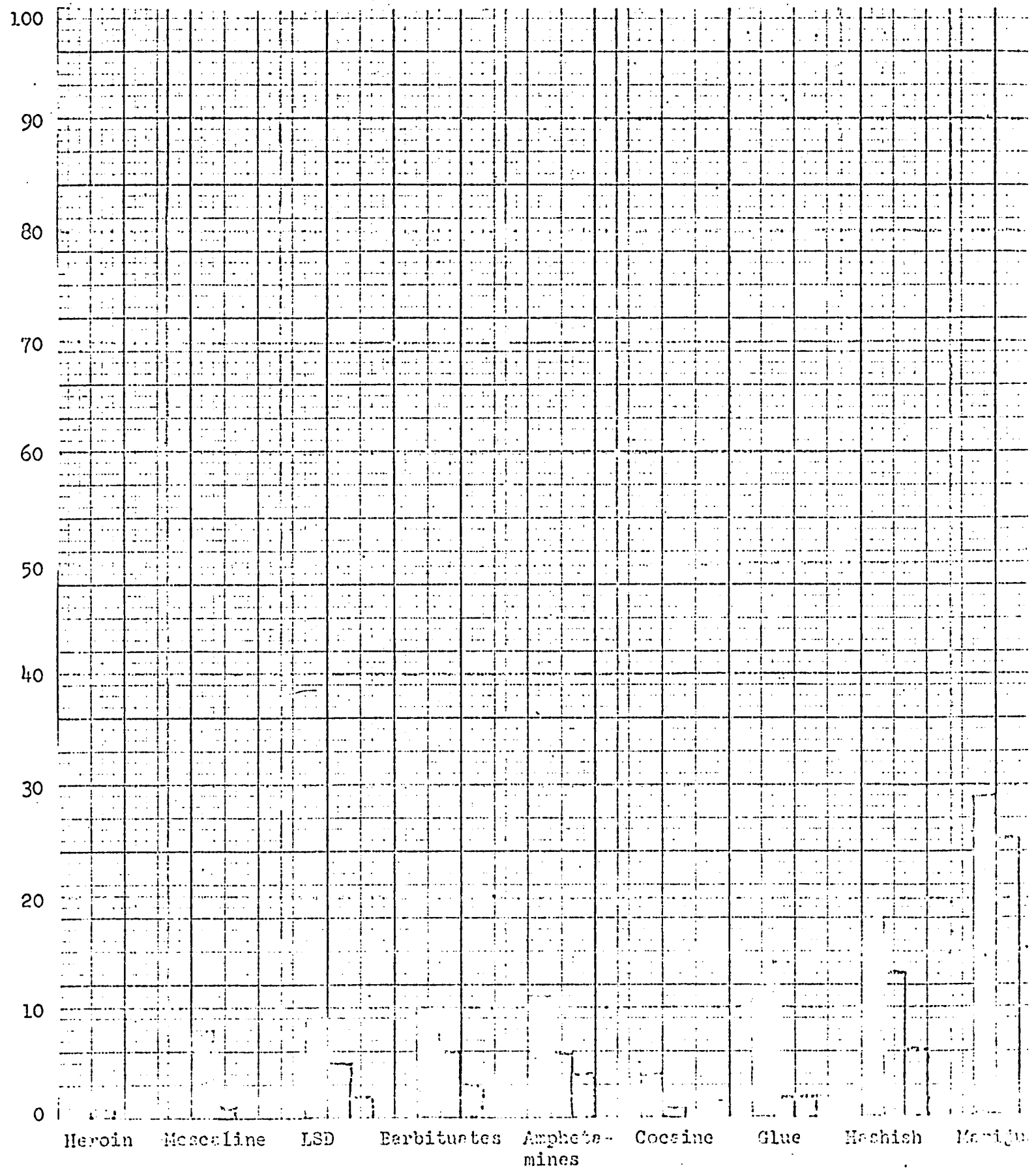
Student Drug Usage at W Junior High School

KEY: ☒ = Ever Used ☒ = In the last 2 weeks
☐ = In the last 3 months



Student Drug Usage at W High School

KEY: ☒ = Ever Used ☐ = In the last 3 months ☐ = In the last 2 weeks



TYPE OF DRUG

APPENDIX C

23 December 1971

Director of Secondary Education
Town of Windyville

Dear Mr. H:

I am writing this letter at the request of Mr. Steven, our Director of Research and Evaluation, and of Mr. William Feinstein, Lecturer in the Department of Psychiatry. Both are employees of CHUM and are collaborating in this evaluation project. I should like to acknowledge and clarify our understanding of the research currently being initiated with the Windyville High School.

An extremely important aspect of the CHUM's educational programs is a careful and thorough evaluation of how the CHUM functions in helping schools to set up programs and to begin to deal with the drug problem, as it is broadly understood. To this end, an empirical and observational case study of a single school, before, during and after institute training, is a very high priority. Logistically, this has not been an easy task to accomplish. In part this has had to do with simple time pressures not allowing sufficient access to schools prior to their coming to the institute; it also has involved an inability to obtain broad enough access to schools or school systems at all stages of planning and training.

From the initial contact with the Windyville School system, this program has seemed ideal as an opportunity for such an evaluation. Largely this has been due to a coordination of planning between our evaluation staff and Dr. Crockett, a consultant to the Windyville School System; also, to a sense of a large amount of cooperation and interest on part of the Windyville School system. While we are engaged in evaluating ourselves, we will also deal with material relevant to an evaluation of the specific Windyville program, and in this sense evaluation would also be useful to you.

This is an important project, and we would like to cooperate with you in any way possible towards getting it done. I have read a draft copy of a letter outlining the specifics of this evaluation procedure which I understand is being sent to you. I would be happy to discuss with you anything specific to this proposal, or any general concerns you might have about the program or the evaluation.

Sincerely,

Assistant Professor of Psychiatry, and
Director

23 December 1971

Dear Mr. H:

As we discussed on 20 December 1971 this letter shall describe our evaluation goals and activities as specifically as possible at this time. Also included is a letter, as you requested, from Mr. T, Director of CHUM, stating his position with respect to our activities; this is based on his having read the following and on our ongoing discussions here in East Town.

The CHUM personnel involved in this evaluation project are Mr. Steven, a social psychologist and Director of Evaluation at CHUM; and, William Feinstein, a clinical psychologist and Lecturer in Psychiatry at the EU School of Medicine; we are both employees at CHUM and are collaborating on this project.

It may be helpful to reiterate some of the general rationale of this evaluation as we discussed earlier. This project is being undertaken as an evaluation of CHUM effectiveness. As such, we are primarily concerned with both what effect our program has on a school (outcome) and how that effect occurs (process). We are now at a point in our activities where for both evaluation and program delivery we need to look closely at the process and outcome of the training at CHUM. In order to do this in a sound manner we have elected to do a detailed observational and empirical case study of a single school (Windyville High School). We recognize, of course, that the problems of drug abuse are not specific to the high school but rather are a much more widespread phenomenon. Thus, as much as possible, we shall be evaluating our effectiveness in other sectors of Windyville (e.g., police, community services, etc.). The major emphasis, however, due to our limited resources, time and access, is an in-depth analysis of the high school which in itself is a microcosm of the entire town.

While our focus will be on our effectiveness, there will naturally be information generated about your school system that may be of value to you. In that case we will be eager to share this with you with the following guidelines:

1. All information obtained through formal research activities shall remain confidential. No one will have access to any tapes, questionnaires, observational notes, etc., except the research personnel.
2. Individuals who volunteer their time for this evaluation will never be referred to in any report from us, unless they formally request that their name be mentioned specifically.

3. Findings will be reported when it is mutually agreed that such information is useful feedback to you.
4. Such findings, whenever possible, will be reported in terms of trends, patterns, general issues or areas of concern, rather than reports of individual problems.
5. Such feedback will be presented to only Mr. H, in confidence, and will be distributed to others as he sees fit.

These constrictions make the most sense to us in terms of both confidentiality and useful feedback. As a result of these limitations, it may be helpful to cite some benefits to you from this evaluation; these may already be evident to you. Since CHUM will be conducting this evaluation of itself in your school system, there will inevitably be an unstated effort to make this program especially effective so as to have the evaluation more flattering to CHUM. Further, since CHUM plans to do additional consultation with you after the two weeks in East Town, our enriched understanding of your school system will undoubtedly enhance this process. There are, of course, many other benefits of having a sound evaluation of our work which include more effective future consultation with yours and other schools.

We have specifically chosen Windyville for this evaluation because of many pragmatic reasons. First, your involvement with Mr. Crockett has allowed us to have a clearer picture of your schools than other towns. This and other contacts with you have demonstrated your willingness and respect for involvement in such work. Further, since Windyville is not immediately identified as part of the greater East Town area, it will be easier to maintain confidentiality.

So that we can evaluate both outcome and process we must first obtain a careful understanding of the high school prior to its involvement with CHUM. This means that during the month of January we will be devoting most of our energies to establishing some base-line data. It is for this reason that we have been so eager to begin our contacts with you as soon as possible. We will also need to spend time in the high school after the two week training program to establish comparative outcome effects.

As best as we can now establish, the following is what we will be doing at the high school. Of course, nothing will begin until this is agreed upon by both you and Mr. Kotrill. We have arrived at the following outline by considering good research design. Thus, we assume that the research rationale is implicit and that we need not go into this at the present. If you have any questions about this procedure or better still, any suggestions as to how we might improve it, please let us know.

Observations and interviews: For this part of the evaluation, it is crucial that Mr. Feinstein be allowed time for observing various

administrators, teachers and students both individually and in groups. Specifically, such meetings as student-faculty senate, department chairmen meetings, student extra-curricular groups, department meetings (e.g., social studies, science), team meetings (i.e., from CHUM). Interviews would be with you, Mr. Kotrill, Mr. C, Mr. B and other selected faculty, students and administrators. These interviews and observations shall be conducted intensively in January and again after CHUM training. Again, information obtained in this fashion is confidential.

Questionnaires: There will be essentially three areas of personnel surveyed with these instruments. A student survey will be conducted, as well as a survey of various natural groups of students, teachers and administrators, and one of selected individual administrators, teachers and students. We shall select a stratified, random sample of teachers who both attend the CHUM program and of those who do not (including those who wanted to but were not selected and those who did not elect to go). Since many teachers will be asked to fill out these questionnaires, the rationale for their selection will not be apparent. Again, information obtained in this way is strictly confidential. Included in these instruments will be attitudes and reports about school, students-faculty-administrator interaction, drug education, drug problems, and so on.

Resources: As much as possible, we will not interfere with the ongoing activities at the high school. Our best estimate of the time taken out of these activities is as follows: Interviews with those mentioned above will run between one and two hours each in January and again in the Spring. Natural groups will be asked to fill out forms that will take about fifteen minutes (about three times). Students selected in a random sample will be asked to complete an hour long questionnaire about three times. Faculty and administrators selected will be given an hour long questionnaire three times which can be completed on their own. Classroom environment scales, which take twenty-five minutes to complete, will be administered three times to stratified groups of teachers. Ongoing observations of meetings, selected individuals, etc., will not take away any time from those activities except for a typical effect of any observer which most likely will disappear after one meeting.

At the present, we have and are working on more specific outlines of the questionnaires, the interview schedules and observational guidelines. You will receive copies of each of these as they are finalized. As was stated above, none will be administered without your consent (and hopefully with your criticisms). Moreover, as we become more sophisticated about the high school, we undoubtedly will modify our procedures.

Since January is fast approaching, we hope that we can begin to exchange specific scales and the like with you as soon as possible. Hopefully, the above outline will meet with your approval and we can proceed.

We would both like to thank you for your generous support and cooperation already offered and hope that as we work together we can become even more effective in our mutual goals.

Best wishes and holiday cheer.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Steven

William Feinstein

WF:ac

January 7, 1973

Messrs. Steven and William
CHUM

Dear Mr. Steven and William:

As indicated over the telephone Windyville is most willing to cooperate with CHUM in the evaluation of its program. We are certainly eager to see Drug Abuse Education Programs succeed throughout the state as well as in Windyville.

In the accompanying letter to Mr. T, I have also indicated our willingness to cooperate. I have also expressed the three areas of concern which we have discussed previously. I do feel that the survey Dr. Crockett conducted a little over a year ago should represent the base line data especially in the areas of attitudes towards drugs and the usage thereof. I recognize that there will be other types of questionnaires you will have to administer in the near future. I am hopeful that any of these materials can be reviewed by Dr. Crockett, representing Windyville, prior to their being forwarded to me.

Regarding the use of the tape recorder, unless approved by the parties being recorded, I feel that the tape recorder should be used only for dictation purposes by Mr. Feinstein. Even prior to that I would ask that its use be clarified with Mr. Kotrill as he arranges meetings and schedules for your observations.

The five guidelines on page two of your letter are accepted. I would also request that I have an opportunity to preview any final written report.

Your outline on "Observations and Interviews," "Questionnaires" and "Resources" seem acceptable within the bounds of above-mentioned concerns and guidelines which I have expressed.

Since you will be working with administration, staff and students at the high school, as you arrange your schedule with Mr. Kotrill, he will see that you are properly introduced so that all people at the high school will understand why you are there.

I wish you much success in this study and express again our willingness to work closely with both of you.

Sincerely,

Director, Elementary and Secondary Education

We are seeking your assistance in selecting a limited number of key people to attend a leadership conference. Ten members of the sophomore class and seventeen high school staff members will attend a two-week leadership training conference at Eastern University in East Town during April or May 1972. Students who attend this conference should be selected from among those who relate well to their fellow students. School staff members attending the conference should be selected from among those in whom students have the greatest confidence. Consequently, both students and staff members should participate in the selection of those to attend the conference.

1. As a teacher, if you are interested in being considered to attend this conference, place your name here.
2. You may list below the names of two or three fellow teachers or counselors in whom you feel students have great trust and confidence.
3. You may list below the names of two or three Grade 10 students in whom you feel fellow students place their trust and confidence.

HVA:d
11/13/71

FOR USE BY GRADE 10 STUDENTS

We are seeking your assistance in selecting a limited number of key people to attend a leadership conference. Ten members of the sophomore class and 17 high school staff members will attend a two-week leadership training conference at Eastern University in East Town during April or May 1972. Students who attend the conference should be selected from among those who relates well to their fellow students. School staff members attending the conference should be selected from among those in whom students have the greatest confidence. Consequently, both students and staff members should participate in the selection of those to attend the conference.

1. As a student, if you are interested in being considered to attend this conference, place your name here.

2. You may list below the name of a fellow student who communicates well with other students and should attend this conference.

3. You may list below the name of any teacher(s) or counselor(s) with whom you feel comfortable and with whom you could discuss a problem.

HVA:d
11/15/71

FOR USE BY GRADE 11 AND 12 STUDENTS

We are seeking your assistance in selecting a limited number of key people to attend a leadership conference. Ten members of the sophomore class and 17 high school staff members will attend a two-week leadership training conference at Eastern University in East Town during April or May 1972. Students who attend the conference should be selected from among those who relate well to their fellow students. Grade 10 students will participate in selection of these students. School staff members attending the conference should be selected from among those in whom students have the greatest confidence. Consequently, both students and staff members should participate in the selection of those to attend the conference.

1. You may list below the name of any teacher(s) or counselor(s) with whom you feel comfortable and with whom you would discuss a problem.

HVA:d
11/15/71

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